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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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28 August 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

## BRIEFS

BELGRADE, PRAGUE HARASSES ITALIAN RADICALS--(ANSA) Rome, 6 Aug--Italian radicals unfurled anti-nuclear banners and distributed thousands of leaflets in the streets of ten world capitals Monday, but only ran into trouble in two of them. In Belgrade, police seized the passports of those handing out leaflets in favor of conscientious objection in front of the federal parliament and, in Prague, police detained radicals handing out leaflets against nuclear weapons. In Budapest, police looked on as leaflets were distributed in front of the parliament building and in downtown Karl Marx Square while, in Warsaw, the Italian anti-nuclear demonstrators were left to get on with their propagandising undisturbed. The slogan common to all the capitals--the others were Washington, Brussels, Madrid, Athens, and Ankara--was "August 6, 1945 Nuclear Holocaust--August 6, 1985 Holocaust Through Hunger: for Life, Peace, and Liberty". According to figures distributed by the radicals and their environmentalist and anti-hunger co-campaigners, wars have killed 20 million since 1945 while hunger slays twice that number each year. [Text] [Rome ANSA in English 0840 GMT 6 Aug 85 AU]

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ALBANIA

EXCERPTS FROM HOXHA BOOK ON RELATIONS WITH GREEKS

Tirana ATA in English 22-30 Jul 85

[22 Jul 85]

[Extracts from the book by Comrade Enver Hoxha "Two Friendly Peoples". Excerpts from the Political Diary and other documents on Albanian-Greek relations (1941-1984). An ancient and traditional friendship links the Albanian people with the fraternal Greek People.]

[Text] Tirana, 22 Jul (ATA)--In his book "Two Friendly Peoples" (excerpts from the Political Diary and other documents on Albanian-Greek relations, 1941-1984) Comrade Enver Hoxha speaks of the genuine friendly character of the Albanian-Greek relations. He writes on the efforts made by the Albanian people to constantly strengthen this friendship of the goodwill to have good relations with the Greek people, of the importance of the different exchanges to strengthen this friendship.

--We have fought and bled together with the neighboring Greek people and it is our desire to be always on good terms with this generous people.

On November 28, 1944, the day when the Democratic Government of Albania entered Tirana, a big rally was organized in the capital, in which Comrade Enver Hoxha, (at that time head of the Democratic Government of Albania and commander-in-chief of the National Liberation Army of Albania) delivered a programmatic speech. Among other things, he spoke about the friendship between the Albanian people and the Greek people.

We have fought and bled together with the neighboring Greek people he said. We have bandaged each other's wounds in this common antifascist war, and it is our desire to be always on good terms with this generous people.

At the 2d Congress of the anti-fascist youth of Albania, which held its proceedings in Tirana, Comrade Enver Hoxha greeted the Congress and all the anti-fascist youth of our country. The reflection dated April 16, 1945, says in part:

Here amongst you are representatives of EPON (the All-Greece Youth Union Organization), the representatives of the heroic anti-fascist youth of the valiant Hellenic people from whom the chauvinists of Athens want to divide us.

Small but heroic Albania has strong friends. Besides the whole progressive world and the peoples of the Soviet Union, it has all the progress-loving peoples of the Balkans. Small Albania has a read friend in the heroic Greek people, that people who never lowered the flag of resistance against Germany and its internal agents, that Greek people together with whom we have shed blood for freedom and democracy, that people who have nothing at all to do with the chauvinists of Athens.

At the 1st Congress of the Communist Party of Albania, which was held in Tirana on November 8-22, 1948, Comrade Enver Hoxha delivered the report of the Central Committee. In this report the entire activity of the CPA from its founding was analysed and the tasks for the future were clearly defined. Speaking about the relations and friendship between the Albanian and Greek peoples, among other things Comrade Enver Hoxha said:

Our party and people have a great love and admiration for the fraternal democratic Greek people, who are carrying on with such heroism their struggle for liberation for many years on end. Our people could not fail to feel in their hearts the great suffering of the Greek people from the tragedy caused by the Anglo-Americans, who have interfered militarily in the most brutal manner in that country. We love the fraternal Greek people, outstanding fighters for freedom and democracy, wholeheartedly, and our people are with them in their gigantic efforts, because we recall our common struggle waged against the Italian and German occupiers, the countless sacrifices and sufferings we endured together for the liberation of our countries from the heavy bondage of fascism. But the heroic Greek people did not succeed in winning victory, as the Albanian people did. The brutal intervention by Anglo-American imperialism caused the continuation of the war on the Greek soil.

Our state has never interfered and will never interfere in the internal affairs of Greece, and our alleged supplying of the Greek democratic army with arms is nothing but a slander, invented by the Anglo-American governments and their agencies such as UNSCOB (United Nations Special Commission on the Balkans). If international reaction considers the great love of our people for the Greek people, and the great admiration and joy felt by our people at the victories of the heroic Greek democratic army as weapons, then we have already said and will say again, that love for the fraternal Greek people is growing day by day in the hearts of our people.

Our people, he stresses further on, have provided and will provide asylum to the Greek refugees, to innocent men, women and children, who have come to us pursued, maimed, and terrorized by the monarcho-fascist beasts, solely because they are democrats and sons of democrats. The constitution of our people's republic and the just, democratic policy of our government provide refuge for those persecuted for patriotic and democratic activity.

The Albanian people were immensely angered that Greek reaction executed one of the glorious sons of the Greek people, Nicos Beloyanis, who fought heroically against the Italian and German fascist occupiers and the Anglo-American imperialists.

On the opening day of the 2d Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania (March 31, 1952), speaking about the people's struggle for peace in the report which he delivered, Comrade Enver Hoxha said:

Let us remind them (the masses) of the heroic fighter of the Greek people, Comrade Nicos Beloyanis, whom the chiefs of Athens shot yesterday morning.

To honour the unforgettable memory of our dear and heroic Greek comrade, Nicos Beloyanis (as a mark of respect, in 1952 the workers' holiday camp in Durres was given the name "Nicos Beloyanis"), I invite the congress of our party to observe one minute silence as a sign of love and unbreakable friendship with the fraternal Greek people.

--The Albanian people know the Greek people as a cultured, modest, industrious and freedom-loving people.

Dealing with international events and the foreign policy of our country in Chapter 4 of the report delivered at the 3d Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha, also spoke about the relations of our country and people with Greece and the Greek people.

The reflection entitled The Greek People, a Culture, Modest, Industrious and Freedom-loving People, dated May 25, 1956, says among others:

The Albanian people have great sympathy for the heroic Greek people who have fought for their freedom and independence for centuries. Greece was the cradle of civilization. Our two peoples have languished under the bondage of imperialist invaders, have fought together and helped each other to liberate themselves from the yoke of oppressors. The Albanian people know the Greek people as a cultured, modest, industrious and freedom-loving people and are immensely grieved when they see that good neighbourly relations with them are being hindered by the Greek chauvinists who claim that Albania and Greece are allegedly in a state of war.

In a reflection dated January 24, 1966 entitled:

The Tragedy of the Greek Communists in Exile in the Revisionist Countries, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes among the other things:

I am continually receiving letters, petitions, statements and resolutions from the Greek comrades in exile in the revisionist countries and always my heart aches for them. I feel an indescribably great grief for those heroic comrades who fought with unrivaled bravery against facism, against the monarchists, against the British and the Americans. We assisted them wholeheartedly. We shared our food with them at a time when we were hungry



ourselves, endangered the borders of our homeland which were attacked with large monarcho-fascist forces. This occurred in August 1949, when the Greek monarcho-fascists committed a series of armed provocations on the southern borders of our country. These provocations were part of the plot hatched up by the Anglo-American imperialists against the People's Republic of Albania. We fought there and did not give up an inch of our territory. Some of our men were killed there, but we saved all our comrades and brothers, the Greek democratic army, the heroic Greek partisans and took them into our own homes. I personally took part in that delicate and painful operation. The Greek comrades who fought valiantly, wept bitterly over their defeat and wanted to go back to fight, but this was impossible. After what had happened they were deeply moved by the warm welcome of our party and people. We did our internationalist duty, helped them to take courage and to strengthen themselves spiritually. We discussed the situation with Stalin, indeed in the talk with him and Molotov, at which Zahariadhis and Partsalidhis were present, I presented our views about the war of the Greek partisans and openly stated my views about certain mistakes of the Greek leaders, views which Stalin considered correct, and we left that meeting as comrades-in-arms.

Further on the author continues:

We parted sadly with our Greek brothers, our heroic comrades, the Greek partisans, when they left for the socialist countries of Eastern Europe to which they wanted to go, in the firm belief that wherever they were going they would be as they were in Albania, with the only difference that their homeland would not be so close as it was when they were in our country. And in fact this is what occurred as long as Stalin was alive. Wherever they went they were settled, placed in jobs, organized, went to military schools, to vocational schools, party schools, and so on. They organized their party and analysed the war with its victories, mistakes and defeats.

After the death of Stalin, the great tragedy of the Greek comrades began, a tragedy which has not yet ended.

The Khrushchevite revisionists are the executioners of the Greek comrades. They are responsible before world opinion and the Greek Communist Party for all those terrible things which are being done to the heroes of martyred Greece.

Not even the monarchists within Greece have done the things which the Khrushchevites are doing to the Greek comrades in the Soviet Union. This is the whole tragic history, full of pain, of the liquidation of the Greek Communist Party, of its leaders, of physical liquidations, internments, beatings, hideous murders, which cannot even be summarized here, because it would take whole volumes.

But the voice of heroes, of our Greek comrades who are languishing in internment, breaks through the ice and the borders and reaches our party, the party which they have boundless trust in and indescribable love for. They

seek our help, because they trust only in us. From the gloom of exile they listen to Radio Tirana, they even want to hear the songs of our people, because they remind them of the great love and loyalty of the "Arvanites" and their Marxist-Leninist party.

Greek comrades and brothers, who are suffering at the hands of the modern revisionists, how I grieve for you now, because you are suffering greatly.

Dear comrades, stand strong as steel, as you stood in the storms in the mountains of heroic, martyred Greece. Stand unflinching as rock against the betrayal of the Soviet and other revisionists. Struggle, close your ranks against enemies, prepare yourselves for the great struggle against imperialism, let teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin guide and inspire you in the coming battles. Throughout the ancient history of our two peoples, which is full of wars, we Albanians have always stood beside you and have fought together with you for freedom. And now, too, we will be beside you, beside the Greek working people.

--Art plays a great role in bringing peoples together and getting to know one another, in strengthening the friendly relations between the Albanian people and the Greek people.

"The Visit of Our Ensemble to Greece Will Help To Strengthen the Friendship Between Our Two Peoples"--is the title of Comrade Enver Hoxha's reflection dated June 19, 1977, which reads in part:

I was very pleased that our ambassador to Athens was able to secure the permission of the Greek authorities to send to Greece our state song and dance ensemble made up of 80 people. Likewise, the Greeks will send an ensemble of their comprising 60 people to our country. In my opinion this is a very good thing, because it will help to strengthen the friendship between our two peoples, irrespective of the difference between our regimes.

Our ensemble is going to Greece with very fine aims, with the sincere intention of showing the fraternal Greek people the progress of our country and our people who are building socialism, which we do not impose on any one. Let the Greek people see what great forces the party and our socialist regime have created, how the folk art and culture of our country have developed with such a great variety, with such fine taste, with exemplary manliness and honesty, which stands out in every word, every song and every dance. Let them see the ability of our people, their skill and patriotism, let them see our internationalist feelings and the special friendship which we nurture for the fraternal Greek people and our desire to live in friendship with each other.

Hence, the purpose of the visit of our folk song and dance ensemble to Greece has very great importance for us. We know, too, that the purpose of the visit to the Greek ensemble, which will come to Albania, is to show our people the development of modern Greek art and culture.

As we are seeing the author continues, for some time positive propaganda about our country is being carried on in Greece. This is being done by friends of our country and progressive elements. They organize conferences, parties, and shows of Albanian films. They buy these films and like them very much because, irrespective of the fact that the capitalist order exists in Greece, when they see our beautiful films which show the unsullied life and conscience and the vigorous, revolutionary development of our youth, even elements of the conservative bourgeoisie say: "These are films for the education of the youth". Therefore, our films have made a great impression among progressive Greek elements.

Undoubtedly, the visit of our folk song and dance ensemble to Greece will create even greater sympathy and enthusiasm than our films have created there, because in Athens, Salonica, Piraeus and wherever else the Greeks agree that our ensemble can go, they will see with their own eyes our people singing and dancing, will understand the words and the content of the songs, and this will truly make a great impression.

On August 16, 1977, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes in his reflection:

I watched the television broadcast of the performance of the Greek ensemble called "Marinella" after the main singer of the ensemble. It was a beautiful concert, and the audience liked it. I say this because I saw and heard the many long bursts of warm applause during the performance. All of us, Nexhmije, other members of our family and I all like this concert.

Overall, I think the performance of the Greek ensemble "Marinella" will help to strengthen the friendly relations between the Albanian people and the Greek people. Art plays a great role in bringing peoples together and getting to know one another, because every artistic performance reflects the spirit, characteristics, feelings, aspirations and desires of the people.

--We have always wanted to live on good neighbourly terms with the Greek people.

"The Albanian People Want To Be Sincere Friends With the Greek People Forever"--is the title of the reflection dated November 8, 1978. He writes:

I had a meeting with the electors of electoral zone No 209 in Tirana. On this occasion I spoke to those present about the great strides which our country has made in all fields of life, and about the brilliant prospects which are opened to the Albanian people in the socialist construction. I also dwelt on some questions of the international situation as well as on the relations of our country with the neighbouring countries.

In connection with the relations of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Albanian people with Greece and the Greek people, Comrade Enver said in his speech:

With Greece we have friendly relations. We have always wanted to live on good neighbourly terms with the Greek people. The present Greek Government has responded to our desire that peace should exist in the borders of our two countries. This realistic stand of theirs is good. Relations in the field of trade and culture are developing satisfactorily. We are ready to proceed on this course which is to the benefit of our two peoples and we want to be sincere friends with one another forever. The Albanian people see that the Greek people, too, are for this friendship.

On January 9, 1980, Comrade Enver Hoxha sent a letter to Jannis Carambishtis, which says:

I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the letter and the warm greetings you sent me on the occasion of the new year and for the joy and feelings of admiration you express in it for the successes which our people have achieved.

In replying to your letter, I would like to take the opportunity to point out that the Albanian people nurture admiration and respect for the fraternal Greek people and will try to enhance their friendship with them, with whom you Arvanitas have lived for centuries in fraternal friendship, sharing your joys and sorrows together.

On December 30, 1980, Comrade Enver Hoxha sent a letter to Llabros Mallama, which says among the other things:

Thank you for the book expressing admiration for Albania which you sent me recently, (The Book Albania, the Bride of Eagles). For me it is a valued souvenir from a sincere friend of the Albanian people, a new stone in the foundations of the traditional friendship between our two countries for which the most progressive and patriotic people, loyal sons of the fraternal Greek people, have worked in the past and continue to work to this day.

"Attempts by Anyone To Disrupt the Friendship of the Albanian People With the Greek People Will Fail" is the title of a reflection dated November 1, 1981, when the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania was opened in Tirana. In the report on the activity of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha spoke about the magnificent transformations which have been made in our country, the brilliant prospects which await our people. He also analysed contemporary political problems and, dwelling on the situation in the Balkans, he treated the question of the relations of our country with Greece.

We note with satisfaction, he stressed, that the Greek Government and the Greek people, also, are well disposed and desire that the relations between our two countries should proceed on the basis of friendship and good neighbourliness. The sentiments of the Albanian people and the Greek people are in accord in many directions.. They wish each other well and rejoice at each other's progress, proceeding from the principle that each is master in his own house and of his own affairs. The friendship between the Albanian people and the Greek people is a lasting friendship, which will be ceaselessly strengthened and will flourish in the interests of our peoples and peace and

security in the Balkans. Efforts by anyone to break this friendship will fail. We are convinced that now all the conditions and possibilities have been created, so that through common efforts any obstacle can be removed and broad avenues of development of fruitful relations with mutual benefit can be opened between our two friendly countries.

A letter Comrade Enver Hoxha sends to Dh. Cremos, former Greek partisan, on December 29, 1984, says:

Dear Friend,

When he came to take part in the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Albania, you comrade, the well-known national hero of the Greek resistance, outstanding social personality and my honoured friend, Manolis Glezos, handed us a photograph of yours and your study entitled "Albania, the Language and Writing".

Your wartime photograph which you has the kindness to send me as a remembrance, brought back to me warm memories of the Greek partisan comrades whom I had the occasion to meet in those difficult times for our people, each of whom fought heroically on its own territory against the nazi-fascist invaders and local gangs of traitors for their liberation. The affection and understanding which the Greek and Albanian partisans showed for one another in these meetings and cordial talks have remained unforgettable for me. The ancient bonds created through the blood shed together during centuries against common enemies, and especially in the Greek revolution of 1821, were further strengthened in this great war.

We are pleased to see that thanks to the desire of the peoples and the goodwill of the governments of our two countries, in recent times the good neighbourly relations between Albania and Greece are proceeding in the direction of expansion and strengthening. I am convinced that our friendship and good neighbourly relations will grow steadily stronger, because this is the desire of our people and serves the interests of our two countries and stability in the Balkan zone.

Allow me, on this occasion, to congratulate you on the work you have undertaken on the Albanian language and its antiquity. This is an expression of the interest and affection which you personally display for our country and people, which assists in the strengthening of our understanding and friendship.

[23 July 1985]

[Text] Tirana, 23 Jul (ATA)--In his book "Two Friendly Peoples", (excerpts from the Political Diary and other documents on Albanian-Greek relations, 1941-1984) Comrade Enver Hoxha speaks also of the stands of our party since the first days of its founding concerning the struggle of the Greek people against the fascist occupation. The author makes assessments of this

struggle and speaks of the correct stands the Albanian people and our party have adopted towards these struggles. A prominent place is held by the correct analyses of Comrade Enver Hoxha concerning the struggles of the Greek people, such as for instance the confrontation in Moscow between the leadership of our party and the Greek Communist one.

--The Albanian people sabotaged the Italian fascist aggression against Greece. The Albanian people did not declare war on Greece.

After the founding of the Communist Party of Albania on November 8, 1941, the Central Committee addressed its first appeal to the Albanian people, an appeal written by Comrade Enver Hoxha, in which he speaks about the heroic war of the peoples of the Balkans.

All the enslaved peoples of Europe, including the peoples of the Balkans, it stresses are waging an heroic war for their liberation. The Montenegrins, Serbs, Croats, Macedonians and Greeks, whose countries are enslaved by German and Italian fascism, are waging a large-scale war for their national liberation.

While in November 1942 in his articles published in the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT, Comrade Enver Hoxha wrote about the anti-fascist war of the Greek people and other peoples of the Balkans that the fascist occupiers have realized like two and two makes four that they are in open war with the Albanian people, that their position here is becoming critical, that their munitions dumps are not secure, that their army is in danger, that their position in Greece is being shaken, that the aid which they send the fascist soldiers in Yugoslavia is becoming worthless. In short, all the peoples of the Balkans oppressed by fascism are becoming a terrible danger for the occupiers.

In the theoretical course with main cadres which was organized in the time of the national liberation war at Panarit of Korca, Comrade Enver Hoxha delivered the report on the theme, "The national liberation war, its prospects and our tasks". In his analysis of the international situation, he spoke about the aggression by fascist Italy against Greece and the national liberation war in this country.

At that time October 1940, fascist Italy was preparing its aggression against Greece the author writes. It tried to embroil our people in war over the old chauvinist antagonisms and to recruit men into the ranks of the militia. However, our people were not deceived by this demagoguery and began to sabotage this war. Speaking about the Albanian people's sabotage of the fascist aggression against Greece, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

"I shall never forget those dark nights of November 1940, when Vasil Shanto and I stuck slogans on the walls with the call 'down with Italian fascism,' and 'long live the fraternal Greek people who are fighting for freedom.'"

"This was the time when fascist Italy, continuing its annexationist policy, launched the aggression against the fraternal Greek people. We immediately condemned this new aggression, wrote and distributed in Tirana, Korce and elsewhere a series of leaflets in which, besides exposing the fascist policy, we called on our people to sabotage this war in every way possible, and especially, to sabotage the fascists' efforts to send Albanian soldiers to the front as cannon fodder.

"And what was bound to occur took place: Not only did the Albanian people react to this new fascist aggression against the Greek people with boundless indignation and anger, but even those few Albanian soldiers who were forced to the front at bayonet point did not fire a single shot against the Greek brothers, but on the contrary, either turned their rifles against the fascist aggressors, or deserted en masse". (When the Party Was Born (Memoirs), "8 Nentori" Publishing House, Tirana 1983, p 97, 3d Alb. Ed.)

The question of the admission of Albania as a member of the United Nations was raised in the Security Council of that organization on February 12, 1946. On this occasion, the head of the Greek delegation to UNO, Mr Rendis, in a letter to the Security Council, in which Albania is considered as a country which had been on the side of the Axis, sought postponement of the discussion of its admission until the next session of the assembly.

In connection with this question, Comrade Enver Hoxha in his reply to a question asked him by the newspaper BASHKIMI on March 10, 1946, amongst other things said:

It was not the Albanian people who declared war on Greece but fascist Italy and the Quisling Shefqet Verlaci and his associates.

In regard to the declaration and waging of the war, the Albanian people are in no way responsible for this. On the contrary, our people were opposed to the Italo-Greek war, were with the heroic Greek people who were being killed and enslaved as they were themselves from April 7, 1939. Our people displayed these feelings which they nurtured for the neighbouring people by fighting against the Italian occupiers. Mr Rendis must know that when fascist Italy declared war on Greece, the prisons in Albania were filled with Albanian patriots for holding demonstrations and fighting the Italian Carabinieri in the city-streets, thousands of Albanian patriots filled the concentration camps in Italy. The Italian viceroy tried to clear the field by sending the Albanian youth to concentration camps because the resistance of our people was building up rapidly. Mr Rendis must know that the walls of Tirana were covered with slogans against the Italo-Greek war, that the resistance groups, through leaflets and propaganda, caused all the Albanian soldiers to desert from the ranks of the Quisling army and they were interned in the fascist concentration camps. Mr Rendis must know that the armed units of the national liberation movement in central Albania attacked the Italians transporting their supplies for the Greek front and that the desire expressed by our people to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Greek army against the Italians was refused categorically by the Greek command. Moreover, when the Greek army entered the zones of southern Albania, it disarmed the population of those zones. The Albanian people continued their sympathy for the Greek

people and the solidarity in the war for the common cause under the German occupation, too. The battalions of our brigades, in fraternity with ELAS and the whole Greek people crossed the border and attacked the German common occupier on Greek soil. The honest Greek people know these things and the bandit Zervas and his associates know them, too.

--The Albanians have made their contribution to the struggle for freedom of the other peoples. No evil will come to the Greek people from our country.

On May 29, 1969, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

Today I met the residents of the town of Tepelena and surrounding villages. At the meeting which was held on this occasion, besides speaking of matters of the internal life of the country and some international problems, I spoke also about the contribution which the Albanians have made to other peoples' wars for freedom.

In his speech Comrade Enver Hoxha said among other things:

The worth of the people is not gauged from the size of the territory on which they live, or their numbers, but from their stands, from their capability to survive and forge ahead regardless of the storms and tempests of the centuries, from their ability to resist and overcome numerous enemies one after the other, from their ability to cope with the difficulties and storms of the times through their courage, wisdom, vitality, tactics and strategy. Such peoples, even though small in numbers as our people are, deserve to survive and certainly will exist forever. Our small people, but unconquered through the centuries, have proved this throughout their whole existence right down to this day.

Let us take a quick glance at history from before our era. In these parts, Alexander the Great of Macedonia was suckled by a mother from the Molossi clan of Epirus. Our ancestors, the Illyrians, who provided many emperors of Rome, resisted its hordes. We do not boast about the emperors, let the Romans call them their, but the fact that these men have emerged from the ranks of our ancestors has importance.

Outstanding realist writers and objective historians have written that the Albanians played a major role in the destruction of the Ottoman Empire. The Albanian people, under the leadership of Skanderbeg, defeated the hordes of Sultan Murad and Sultan Mehmet. For twenty-five years on end the legendary armies of our immortal hero made themselves defenders not only of our small people but of all the peoples of Europe.

The ideologists and fighters of our national renaissance, inspired and supported by the masses of the people, not only fought for the freedom of Albania but also gave heart to the young Turks who overthrew the sultanate.



It was precisely here in Tepelena that Alipasha was born. True, he was a great feudal lord and despot, but he was also a clever politician who shook the sultan's empire. The European world had a high evaluation of Ali Pasha Tepelena in his own time. The history books and encyclopaedias of Europe speak in particular about Tepelena and tell how Ali Pasha, for his own feudal aims, rose against the sultans and created the Pashalik of Janina, which he made very powerful. He aimed to separate his Pashalik completely from the Ottoman Empire and, if possible, to link it with the north, with the Pashalik of Shkodra, which was ruled by the Bushatlis at that time. This was a clever policy which Ali pursued. The French Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte, the outstanding military leader and tactician who occupied the whole of Europe and became the terror of the British, the Germans, the Austrians and the Russians, but who eventually ended up in exile on the island of St Helena, was well aware of this policy.

The fight of Ali Pasha the author continues contributed to the first victories of the Greek uprising in the years 1821-1822 and, despite the conflicts which had occurred between Ali and part of the Greek population, the leaders of the Greek uprising wrote to Ypsilanti that they should unite with Ali of Tepelena and call on the Albanian warriors, the Caparajs of Cameria and the Albanians of Morea to rise together in insurrection. They appealed to the Greek insurgents to forget what Ali Pasha had done to them, because only with his aid and the aid of the Albanians could they emerge triumphant.

"No Evil Will Come to the Fraternal Greek People From Our Country" is the title of Comrade Enver Hoxha's reflection dated November 28, 1972:

This evening, he writes on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the proclamation of independence and the 28th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland. The Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania and the Executive Committee of the People's Council of the Vlora District gave a reception. I delivered the address.

Speaking about the secret aims of the "aid" of the Soviet revisionists, in his speech among other things Comrade Enver Hoxha says:

We Albanians know only too well what is hidden behind the so-called internationalist aid of the Soviet revisionists. Today other peoples and states are tasting the imperialist character of their aid. It was these Soviet revisionists who actively sabotaged the development of our economy, our industry and our mines. They had long-range aims: To enslave our socialist country and turn it into a satellite of theirs.

This heroic Vlora saw Khrushchev, (in May 1959 Khrushchev paid a visit to Albania), too. When this renegade from Marxism-Leninism stood before the marvellous bay of Vlora, he was entranced and at one moment I heard his collaborator, Malinovsky, whisper to him: "Do you understand Nikita Sergeyevich? Now we can hit Gibraltar with the missiles from Berlin and East Germany, while from the bay of Vlora we have the whole Mediterranean in

our hands". All they had in their hands was the wind, because our party and government smashed their plans. Vlora will never be in the hands of foreigners.

At Butrint the same Malinovsky again said to Khrushchev: "This is a beautiful lake. If a canal is put through to the sea a marvellous submarine base could be built here, and then Greece, too, would become ours". A shudder ran through me and I remembered that dark night in Tirana when Vasil Shanto and I stuck posters on the walls saying, "Down with Italian fascism. Long live the fraternal Greek people who are fighting for freedom." No, our party and government would never allow evil to come to the fraternal Greek people from the land of olives.

--Correct analyses on the struggle of the Greek people.

On July 12, 1979, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

I am looking over the materials which I'll include in the book, with Stalin (Memoirs), published in Albanian and several foreign languages in December 1979, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of Stalin's birth, about my meeting with J. V. Stalin. I think I should include a special chapter, (the fourth chapter, which carries the subtitle, "The Fourth Meeting", with Stalin (Memoirs) "8 Nentori" Publishing House, Tirana 1979, pp 163-200, Eng. Ed), with the notes I have from my confrontation with the leaders of the Greek Communist Party in the presence of Stalin, over the disagreement on matters of principle between the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania and leaders of the Greek Communist Party.

During the talk I had with Comrade Stalin in Sukhumi, in November 1949, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, he asked me when we could meet the representatives of the Greek Communist Party to clear up the disagreements of principle between us and the leaders of that party. We were agreed on January, and after the Greek comrades agreed to this, the meeting took place in the beginning of January 1950 in Moscow, in the Kremlin. From the Soviet side the meeting was attended by Comrades Stalin, Molotov, Malenkov and a number of functionaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, while from the Greek Communist Party Nicos Zachariades and Miltos Partsalides. The meeting was held in Stalin's office.

Unpretentious and kindly as usual, Stalin welcomed us with a smile, rose from his desk and came to shake hands with all of us in turn. He opened the talk by asking me:

"Comrade Hoxha, what have you to say about the comrades of the Greek Communist Party?"

At the same time he addressed the Greek comrades by saying:

"Let the Albanian comrades speak first, then comes your turn to put forward your opinions on what they will say".

Taking the floor I said:

"Comrade Stalin, we have sent a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union about the disagreements over matters of principle we have with the Greek Communist Party, especially with its main leaders. We have requested this meeting in your presence so that you may judge whether we are right or wrong in our views".

"I am aware of the question you have raised", said Comrade Stalin. "But I would like you to repeat the problems you are concerned about here in the presence of the Greek comrades".

"Of course, I shall state here all the questions our party has put forward in the letter we have sent you. We have discussed these questions with the Greek comrades, too, especially with Comrade Nicos Zachariades, with Comrade Ioannides, with General Vlantzas, with Bardzotas, and other comrades of the leadership of the Greek Communist Party. I would like to begin by pointing out that we have had disagreements on a number of questions, but here I shall speak about the most important ones".

Speaking of the disagreement regarding the strategy and tactics of the war of the Greek democratic army, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

"Our party supported the Soviet-British-American alliance, because, through to the end, it considered this an anti-fascist coalition to crush the German nazis. But at the same time we never created the illusion that the Anglo-American imperialists would be the loyal friends and allies of the Albanian people. On the contrary, while supporting the alliance in general, we made a radical distinction between the Soviet Union and the Anglo-Americans from the beginning.

"The Greek people fought under the same conditions as we. They rose against the Italian fascist aggressors, drove them back, defeated them. The Greek monarchist army even entered Albania. Although our Communist Party was not founded at that time, the communists and our people helped the Greeks in their war against fascist Italy, although they were under occupation themselves.

"During the national liberation war which they waged, the author continues, our two peoples developed even closer fraternal relations. Friendly ties have existed between the Albanian and the Greek peoples from the past. In the letter which he sent Comrade Enver Hoxha on September 10, 1944, the chairman of the National Council of Greece, said: "The Greeks and the Albanians are the two most ancient peoples of the Balkans, they are linked by blood and common traditions and have waged common wars. They have a common fate. Today their community of interests is tempered and strengthened with new bonds, with the endless bloodshed and countless sacrifices which the two peoples are making beside our great allies in the war to regain their national freedom.

"Even in the past no divergencies or contradictions have divided the two neighbouring peoples of Greece and Albania. Only the anti-popular policy of certain politicians, who have governed our two countries during recent decades, has kept the two friendly peoples aloof from each other. However, the prejudices and intrigues have been smashed through the joint struggle to expel the same barbarous enemy occupiers. Greece and Albania have emerged reborn from this common struggle. In the future, our two peoples will live not just in relations of good neighbourliness but in an atmosphere of harmonious collaboration and unbreakable friendship. The primary condition for the rebuilding of the Balkans from the ruins which the invaders caused is close and cordial cooperation between them". As is known many Albanians participated and played a very important role in the Greek revolution of the 20's of the last century, led by Ypsilanti. However, this time the character of our war was the same and our communist parties were at the head of the peoples of our two countries. We established relations between ourselves, and even undertook military operations with combined fighting units against the German armies on Greek territory. Just as in our country, reaction in Greece, too, was strong and the occupiers were very well organized. This, too, was a phenomenon in common.

"On our part, we made efforts and achieved some results in isolating the heads of reaction and in winning over elements that had made mistakes from its ranks. I cannot say with precision how they acted in Greece, but we have criticized the comrades of the leadership of the Greek Communist Party because the [word indistinct] and they themselves committed a major political mistake of principle in subordinating the national liberation war of the Greek people to the Anglo-American strategy and placing it virtually under the direction of the British and the Mediterranean command. We addressed our criticism to Comrade Nicos Zachariades personally.

"Pursuing this matter, Comrade Enver Hoxha continues, I would like to point out that we have had a series of political ideological and military talks with leading comrades of the Greek Communist Party, and this is understandable, because we were two communist parties and had the one strategic aim--the liberation of our countries from the nazi-fascist occupiers and the reactionary bourgeoisie of each country."

"We saw that, despite the outstanding bravery of the Greek partisans and their commanders, after Comrade Nicos Zachariades was released from the Hitlerite concentration camps, he occupied a leading position in 'liberated' Greece with the British Army stationed there on the basis of the agreements signed earlier at Caserta and Cairo by representatives of the EAM, agreements which, in the end, led to the Varkiza agreement".

"Our opposition to the leadership of the Greek Communist Party, with Comrade Zachariades at the head, is based, in the first place, on Varkiza, where the Greek Communist Party and the EAM signed the agreements which is nothing but a capitulation, a surrender of their arms. The Party of Labour of Albania described this act as a betrayal committed against the Greek Communist Party and the fraternal Greek people".

"Nicos Zachariades has defended a thesis which is the opposite of ours on Varkiza. He has always insisted that it was not at all a capitulation, or a betrayal, but 'an act which had to be done in order to gain time and allow us to seize power'.

"As Marxist-Leninists, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, we were very sorry for the Greek people, with whom we had collaborated during the anti-fascist national liberation war. Therefore, later, at the moments when they were again faced with the question of liberation or slavery, we wanted to continue this collaboration.

"I do not want to speak here about the internationalist support and backing which we gave the Greek Communist Party and the Greek national liberation war, despite the very difficult conditions with which our country, just liberated from the occupiers, had to cope. Let the Greek comrades speak about this, (in his book Kapedan Aris the Greek writer Costis Papacongos says: 'Hoxha's partisans welcomed the Greek partisans very open-heartedly and displayed a fabulous respect towards their famous fighting leader (Aris Velouchiotis and regarded as an honour that they were the first to welcome him to their people's republic. They told him immediately that they could stay there as long as he liked, as their guest, to rest and return to his home country later. Indeed, if he wished, he could stay permanently as a guest in their country, like many of the fighting leaders who escaped the savage persecutions in Greece have done').

"We have had contradictions with Zachariades, Bardzotas and Ioannides, the author continues, over the character of the war that the Greek democratic army should have waged against the numerous regular forces of Greek reaction, armed with most modern means of warfare by the American imperialists. Thus, there has been a contradiction over principles between our two parties on this question too. On the basis of our national liberation war we think that the Greek democratic war should not have been transformed into a frontal war, but should have retained the character of a partisan war, fought with small and large units.

On the other hand, in their military operations the Greek comrades followed the tactics of passive defence which is the mother of defeat. This, in our opinion, was a grave mistake of the leading comrades of the Greek Communist Party, who have proceeded from the incorrect principle that partisan warfare has no final objective, that is, does not lead to the seizure of power.

Further on Comrade Enver Hoxha expresses the opinion about how the situation presented itself at the time when the Greek Communist Party went underground and had to begin the war anew and continues further on:

"Likewise, we disagreed with the claims and views expressed in a letter of the Political Bureau of the Greek Communist Party addressed to the Political Bureau of our party, in which the Greek leaders wanting to avoid going deeply into their mistakes and wanting to hide them, claim that their defeats

stem from their not being supplied with weapons, ammunition and clothing in the necessary quantities and that the enemy had domination in the air and on the sea and was amply supplied by the Anglo-Americans. The truth is that the enemy was much better supplied and has superior strength in men and material. However, in such a case, when you are conducting a war against internal reaction and foreign military intervention, the best course is that the enemy should become the greatest source of supplies. The Greek democratic army ought to have captured its weapons from the enemy, but these weapons could not be captured by following the tactic of defensive warfare, of passive defence. Nevertheless, we think that the basic question is not one of supplies. We think that, in rejecting the tactics of partisan warfare and its development to the general armed uprising and the seizure of power, the leadership of the Greek Communist Party has applied a defensive and passive tactic which is unacceptable either in a partisan war or in a frontal war with regular armies.

Further on Comrade Enver Hoxha after speaking to the failures of the Greek democratic army in Vitsi and Gramos writes:

"We think that at the battles of Gramos and Vitsi the comrades of the Greek leadership did not keep in mind the Marxist-Leninist principles of people's war".

"To achieve success in their war, the Greek comrades should not have followed the tactics of passive defence, but should have thoroughly applied the Marxist-Leninist principles on the armed uprising."

"Likewise, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, we have told the Greek comrades in a comradely manner that the leading role of the party in the Greek partisan army must be ensured more firmly, the political commissar of the company, battalion, brigade and division should be the true representative of the party, and as such should have the right to command, just the same as the commander. But we have noticed and have often pointed out to the Greek comrades that they have not taken a correct view of the leading role of the party in the army.

"The comrades of the Greek leadership have been opposed to our opinions, which we have expressed to them in a comradely manner as internationalist communists who are fighting for the same cause, who have great common interests, and who were profoundly sympathetic to the cause of the Greek people's war. They have not welcomed our criticisms.

"Not only have the Greek comrades not accepted our views and criticisms, but we have the impression that they have taken them amiss, and indeed, in their letter to our Political Bureau some time ago, they make an impermissible and anti-Marxist comparison between our principled views and stands and the views of the Titoites. In their distortion of the views expressed by our delegation about the battle of Vitsi and Gramos, in order to adapt them to their own incorrect reasoning, the Greek leading comrades, in our opinion, have the aim of hiding the mistake made on their part. We understand the grave moments the leadership of the Greek Communist Party has gone through following

the defeat at Vitsi and Gramos, and the sense of frustration and anger which exists among them, but such grave and unfounded charges are unacceptable to us, and they should have been considered and weighed up well before they were made, especially by the Political Bureau of the Greek Communist Party.

In continuation Comrade Enver Hoxha writes about what Zachariades said at the confrontation in the presence of Stalin, upholding his views and stresses that later on. Stalin began to speak in the familiar calm way, just as we have known him whenever we have met him. He spoke in simple, direct and extremely clear terms. He said that the Greek people had waged a heroic war, during which they had displayed their courage, but that there had also been mistakes.

"As regards Varkiza, the Albanians are right", Stalin pointed out and after analysing this problem, added: "You Greek comrades must understand that Varkiza was a major mistake. You should not have signed it and should not have laid down your arms, because it has inflicted great harm on the Greek people's war."

"As regards the assessment of the strategy and tactics you followed in the Greek democratic war, although it was a heroic war, again I think that the Albanian comrades are right. You ought to have waged a partisan war, and then, from the phase of this war should have gone over to frontal war."

Stalin got up, shook hands with all of us in turn and we started to leave. The room was a long one and when we reached the exit door, Stalin called to us:

"Wait a moment, comrades. Embrace each other, Comrade Hoxha and Comrade Zachariades".

We embraced.

When we were outside, Mitsis Partsalides remarked:

"There is no one like Stalin, he behaved like a father to us. Now everything is clear".

"Thus, the confrontation in the presence of Stalin was over."

[23 July 1985]

[Excerpts from the Political Diary and other documents on the Albanian-Greek Relations, 1941-1984. The Albanian socialist state created all the possibilities for a normal development and in common interest of the relations with Greece]

[Text] Tirana, 23 Jul (ATA)--In his book "Two Friendly Peoples" (Excerpts from the Political Diary and other documents on the Albanian-Greek Relations, 1941-1984) Comrade Enver Hoxha speaks among the other things also on the

just stands of the Albanian people, and government towards the problem of the relations between the two neighbouring countries. He also writes on the problem for the establishment of the diplomatic relations, etc.

--The Albanian Government has always pursued a peaceful policy of good neighbourliness towards Greece.

At the 1st Congress of the Communist Party of Albania, which was held in Tirana on November 8-22, 1948, Comrade Enver Hoxha in the report of the Central Committee on the activity of the CPA from its founding spoke also about the relations and friendship between the Albanian and Greek peoples where he said among other things:

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania has always followed a peaceful policy of good neighbourliness towards Greece, and has always expressed its goodwill towards the ending, as soon as possible, of the tense situation created on our southern borders because of the aggressive policy of the monarcho-fascist government of Athens, which is instigated and supported by the Anglo-American imperialists.

The Albanian Government has always been ready to collaborate within the United Nations for the correct solution of the Greek problem. Even now it reiterates its readiness to reconsider the question of establishing diplomatic relations with the government of Athens, if it shows signs of renouncing its provocative and war-mongering policy, and of abandoning its insane territorial claims at the expense of our country. The proposals of our delegation to the present session of the General Assembly of the United Nations are inspired by this peaceful policy of goodwill.

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania is also considering with great attention the proposal put forward on November 5, 1948, in the Political Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations, which recommends the immediate meeting in Paris of the representatives of the Albanian, Bulgarian, Greek and Yugoslav governments, who will probe the possibility of achieving an accord on the methods and procedure to be adopted for the settlement of disagreements existing among them.

In this case, too, inspired, as always, by its peaceful democratic policy, it is again ready to hold properly constituted talks for the solution of the Greek problem and for the establishment of normal relations with Greece.

--Constant efforts to normalize the relations with Greece.

The 4th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania held its proceedings in Tirana from 18-20 February 1961. In the report delivered to the congress, Comrade Enver Hoxha spoke also about the desire and the initiatives taken by the People's Republic of Albania for the normalization of relations with Greece. We the author stresses, have made numerous efforts to normalize our relations with Greece, have taken unilateral initiatives and have given the Greek Government adequate opportunities to respond to our readiness and



goodwill. We have done this over the repatriation of Greek citizens, given refuge in Albania, over clearing the Corfu Channel, through our proposals for the normalization of the situation on the border, for trade exchanges, and so on. While always maintaining high vigilance, in the future too, we shall continue our policy towards the normalization of relations with Greece, but, of course, this normalization depends very greatly on the Greek Government which must give up its hostile activities against the People's Republic of Albania immediately.

On March 25, 1966, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

The Greek Government, through its ambassador in Romania, has sought the establishment of diplomatic relations with our country.

Two days later, he stresses that we notified Comrade Halim Budo, who is in New York, to follow up the proposal of the Greek Government about the establishment of diplomatic relations with our country.

"A Proposal to Which We Can Give a Positive Reply" is the title of Comrade Enver Hoxha's note, dated October 8, 1969, where he writes:

We can give a positive reply to the proposal which the representative of Greece at UNO made to Halim Budo about developing trade. But it should be pointed out that it is important that the Greek Government should annul the absurd law about "the state of war with Albania" and establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Albania.

--The Albanian people have never wished the Greek people any ill.

The Greek press is expressing various opinions, according to the political trends it represents, about the agreement between the Greek Chamber of Commerce and ours on trade exchanges, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes on February 13, 1970.

Of course, since they are in favour of trade with us, something is moving in Greece. Trade is not the main thing, either for them or for us. We have always wanted to have good neighbourly relations with the Greek people.

On the 11th of this month the Greek Government newspaper ELEVTEROS KOZMOS wrote, amongst other things, about the question of relations with Albania. After speaking about the trade agreement referred to, the newspaper gives various reasons which, it says, emphasize "the necessity of considering Albania as it is. Albania is not under the influence of any Balkan or European country which could be used against us."

The Albanian people have never wished the neighbouring Greek people any ill, but have always tried to live in sincere friendship with them and assisted them in every way possible in their wars of independence. Of course, the Albanian people, like the Greek people, cannot tolerate any violation of their freedom, independence, sovereignty and territorial unity. Both

Albania and Greece have fought many wars and have triumphed over foreign invaders. The peoples make their own history and one of these peoples, the Albanian people, waged bloody wars and made themselves and their homeland strong and inviolable.

We Albanians have never doubted the friendly feelings of the Greek people towards the Albanian people, because even in their most difficult, most unfortunate moments, our people have nurtured a sincere friendship for the Greek people. Our people have never confounded the Greek people's sentiments with the sentiments of reactionary and chauvinist trends opposed to our country. These trends are anti-popular and lead to bloody conflicts, but they can never succeed in their aims against the People's Republic of Albania, regardless of the direction they come from and the form in which they are presented.

We have always said and we say again to the Greek people: The most correct road is the road of good neighbourliness and friendship between our two peoples based on non-interference, etc., etc.

We say to the Greek people: If someone among you thinks that we want to be friends with you only because of temporary circumstances or because we are afraid of these circumstances, he is wrong. We are afraid of nothing when we are defending our rights, just as the Greek people are not afraid when they defend their rights.

The Greek Government has agreed to establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes on April 29, 1971 and adds that, thus, an absurd situation comes to an end. Now the situation will be normalized.

While one day later he stresses that I gave some instructions for the preparation of a short, concise political article about the establishment of diplomatic relations with Greece. (This article entitled "A Market Event in the Relations Between Albania and Greece", which was published in the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT on May 14, 1971, says: "The normalization of relations between the two countries opens the way for them to develop their links of friendship, exchanges and collaboration in various fields which present mutual interest. There is no doubt that the establishment of normal relations between Albania and Greece will serve as a sound basis to enhance the friendship and collaboration between our two neighbouring peoples and countries." [Punctuation as received.]

--We Albanians want the policy with the Greek state to be a realistic, friendly and lasting policy.

Speaking at the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, which began its work in Tirana on November 1, 1976, Comrade Enver Hoxha expressed the line and stand of our party over many problems of international political life. Among other things, he dwelt on the relations of our country with Greece, where the author writes among others: In regard to the relations

with Greece, for our part, they are based on the policy of good neighbourliness, of non-interference in each other's internal affairs, of mutual benefit and respect for territorial integrity, sovereignty and national independence. We have sought and wish to live in terms of friendship with the fraternal Greek people, and have made and continue to make every effort to ensure that the ties linking our two countries become constantly stronger. The present Greek Government has sought and continues to maintain a friendly stand towards our country. This is in the interests of our two countries and to the detriment of our common enemies.

We realize that the present Greek Government is a government of a coalition of parties, and that it has many opponents in the ranks of the opposition parties. Each of these parties has its own stand. Naturally, this is an internal question of the Greeks. Nonetheless, we think and desire that all these parties should consider the friendship, cooperation and good neighbourly relations between Greece and Albania as beneficial both to Greece itself and to Albania.

At any time and under any circumstance, the struggle of the Albanian people in defence of their independence, freedom and sovereignty is at the same time beneficial to the defence of the freedom and independence of Greece and its people. This we say to the fraternal Greek people with an open heart, for we are the descendants of those who aided them and stood loyal to the end to the revolution of the year 1821, when others abandoned and betrayed it. The friendship between our two peoples has been tempered in our common fight against Italian fascists and German nazis.

We Albanians do not want our policy with the Greek state to be a temporary policy dependent on circumstances, but a realistic, friendly, and lasting policy between our two peoples.

We are convinced that there are reasonable politicians in Greece who view problems realistically and are clear that no evil will ever come to them from socialist Albania, and that the friendship of the Albanians is valuable to them just as the friendship of the Greek people is valuable to us.

On March 22, 1978, Comrade Enver Hoxha delivered a speech at the rally of the people of Dropull region, at Grapsh, where he dwelt among the other things on the friendship of the Albanian people with the Greek people and stressed among other things:

Our friendship with the Greek people is linked with the blood we have shed together in the struggle for freedom and independence against the same enemies. At present the members of the Greek Government declare that they are for improvement of relations with Albania and, in fact, they are being improved. Among the Albanian people and the Albanian Government they have always found understanding. We have trade and cultural exchanges with Greece. These relations are very useful to our two peoples who want to strengthen their friendship and live as good neighbours. No evil can come to Greece from our side and the Greek people know this. Bad things for our

peoples could come from the enemies of the freedom and independence of peoples. The sentiments of the Greek people and the Albanian people are in accord, each wishes the other well, of course, each of them attending their own affairs in their own country. We wish to develop our sincere friendship on this basis.

--Our police towards Greece has always been a fair and friendly policy.

I exchanged opinions with Comrades Ramiz (Alia) and Adil (Carcani) about the meeting which Ksenofon Nushi, (The Albanian ambassador in Greece) had in Athens with the Greek assistant minister of foreign affairs, Papoulias, in connection with the relations with our country, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha on May 17, 1984.

From the radiogram which Ksenofon sent us, it emerges that they had a long talk at this meeting. Papoulias did not go into certain questions which Greek reaction raises and spoke in a friendly way about the relations between our two countries. He raised the need for the opening of the border crossing-point at Kakavia, and implied that for the moment the Greek Government is unable to annul the "law on the state of war" with us, which they have. In general, it can be said that in their relations with us good will is apparent from the side of the Greeks.

In connection with these problems I gave the comrades my opinions.

After two weeks Ksenofon should make contact with Papoulias and say to him that he transmitted the things they talked about together to his government and it agrees to Papoulias' proposals, therefore, it has decided to send a deputy minister to Athens to continue these contacts.

While on December 6, 1984, he writes: Today Ramiz (Alia) and Adil (Carcani) reported to us about the visit to our country of the Greek assistant minister of foreign affairs, the talks which were held on the occasion, the Greek minister's impressions of our country, etc.

The talks went well, so the comrades told us. In his meeting with Adil, the head of the Greek delegation spoke about the readiness of his side to develop the friendly relations between the two countries further, and said that they want a peaceful situation on the border.

During the visits it made to several cities, such as Berat, Gjirokastra, Saranda, etc, the Greek delegation displayed friendliness and spoke well.

At Gjirokastra the delegation visited the "Pandeli Sotiri" pedagogical school where teachers of the Greek language are trained for the needs of the minority people. He also visited two or three agricultural cooperatives of the minority people. Wherever he went he met and talked freely in Greek with the minority people and went away pleased with everything he saw.

The Greek delegation also laid a wreath on a hill in Permet called "Height 721", where a number of Greek soldiers were killed during the Italo-Greek war. On this occasion a wreath was laid there, too, from our side by the war veterans. A number of peasants there talked with the members of the Greek delegation about the events during the time of the war. The Greeks were very moved, but they were pleased with the ceremonies organized at that place.

The delegation also brought a message with a good, positive and correct content sent by Papandreou to Adil. We reached agreement that at the first favourable occasion Adil should reply to Papandreou with a friendly message. (In reply to the message of the prime minister of Greece, Andreas Papandreou, in which he pointed out that "my government's policy of friendship towards the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is as clear as it is sincere".) Comrade Adil Carcani points out: "The Albanian Government welcomes the results of talks held between the two sides in Athens and Tirana, which opened the way to more extensive collaboration in various fields of mutual interest. We rejoice that the new year 1985 commenced with notable events in Albanian-Greek relations. We appreciate your personal contribution to all these developments and express the belief that in the existing atmosphere this process will be further deepened and extended. This responds to the interests and aspirations of our people whose bonds of friendship go far back in history, and respond to the interests of peace and security in the Balkans".

On this occasion, I said to the comrades that our policy towards Greece has always been a fair and friendly policy. The present approaches of Greece towards our country are a response to this policy.

[26 July 1985]

[The existence of the Greek minority in the PSR of Albania is an important factor for strengthening the friendship between the Albanian people and the Greek people.]

[Text] Tirana, 26 Jul (ATA)--In his book "Two Friendly Peoples" (excerpts from the Political Diary and other documents on the Albanian-Greek relations, 1941-1984) Comrade Enver Hoxha writes extensively also on the Marxist-Leninist treatment of the problem of the minority by our party since its founding. He writes on the work of the party to engage the minority in the struggle of the Albanian people against the occupiers and the traitors. The book has also materials on the continuous care of our people's power of the life, traditions, language, culture and customs of the minority people, as well as excerpts from the speeches of Comrade Enver Hoxha on these problems, his letter exchange with the minority people, etc.

--The people of Dropull have fought loyally.

At the 2d national liberation conference which was held in Labinot of Elbasan, on September 4-9, 1943, Comrade Enver Hoxha delivered the report, "On the stand towards various currents outside the national liberation movement", in which amongst other things, he pointed out:

We shall try to include other currents, too, in the national liberation movement. This is how we have acted with the Greek minority, for example. Today they are suffering occupation by the same enemy. They have had to fight alongside us, our war is their war, we are fighting the same enemy. The people of Dropull (zone in southern Albania inhabited by the Greek minority) are well aware of this. The people of the Greek minority have proved themselves up to the mark, have fought loyally and have defended the interests of Albania against the Greek reactionary circles.

In a letter to the Communist Party of Greece on April 2, 1944, on behalf of the CC of the Communist Party of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes among the other things:

We received your letter of March 12, 1944. In regard to your proposal for an eventual meeting between two delegates of our two parties, we consider this necessary and urgent in order to discuss various problems which affect us, and especially, the problem of minorities.

As for the delicate question of minorities, we ask the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece to send comrades who are well-acquainted with the question of nationalities to work with us, since it is easy to make mistakes and unwittingly damage the war which is being waged against the Germans and their lackeys. As you rightly stress in your letter, the Greek comrades who are to come to our country must place themselves at the disposal of our party, mobilize the masses to join our ranks and work for the fraternization of our two peoples.

--The people of Dropull are intelligent, hard-working and patriotic and just like the Albanian people they are loyal to the party.

In the morning of July 29, 1956, Comrade Enver Hoxha, had a meeting with the members of the agricultural cooperative of Goranxia of lower Dropull. At this meeting he said among the other things:

...The minority people of the zone of Dropull are intelligent, hard-working and patriotic, and loyal to the party just like the Albanian people. There is a reason for this. In the past the people of Dropull suffered as much as the Albanian people and the party gave them freedom, the land, schools in their mother tongue and all the rights which they enjoy today, therefore, they nurture profound respect and love for the party and are always ready to apply the line of the party. A living fact which proves this is that agricultural cooperatives have been set up in all the villages of the plain of Dropull. This is the only correct and proven road for the construction of socialist society in the countryside.

Our party, which is guided by the internationalist principles, has done and is doing everything for the people of the minority as well as for the people of the whole country. It opened elementary and 7-year schools for the minority and last year opened the teacher training secondary school in the Greek language for the sons and daughters of the minority people. In the

people's councils of the villages which are the government of the villages, and in the other higher organs of the state and the party, the minority people are represented by their own sons. Many young people from your zone are studying in the higher schools of our country or are working with their Albanian brothers in factories and combines.

In a letter, sent to the members of the agricultural cooperative of Bodrishta on November 9, 1959 Comrade Enver Hoxha writes among other things:

That is why in the years of the war for the liberation of the homeland, your village, too, responded to the call of the party and rose, arms in hand to liberate itself once and for all from the foreign occupiers and internal oppressors.

Through the blood of thousands and thousands of martyrs which our people gave in this sacred war, including the martyrs of your village, free, socialist Albania was founded and life was improved for the working people who are now successfully building the new socialist life.

It rejoices us greatly that work is going well in your cooperative, that you have honourably fulfilled the commitments and that your life is improving from day to day. I am sure that these successes will encourage you to struggle even more resolutely for still greater successes to make your life as beautiful and prosperous as possible, in this way realizing the aim for which the martyrs of freedom shed their blood.

--The people of the minority enjoy all rights like every citizen of our republic. The life of the people of Dropull is becoming happier from day to day.

In a letter which Comrade Enver Hoxha sent to the young people of Bularat on November 22, 1967, he wrote among other things:

You are the sons and daughters of the industrious, heroic common people of Dropull who suffered greatly in the past, like the whole Albanian people, but are now living free, happy, and in steel unity with the whole Albania people.

Today, Dropull is flourishing and will become more flourishing every year.

How the party and the Albanian people rejoice that the young people of Dropull are on the offensive and scoring new victories in every field, in the economic, in culture, in strengthening the defence of the homeland, for which our enemies, the American imperialists, the Soviet revisionists, the Greek monarcho-fascists and other reactionaries envy us. But let the enemies howl. A people such as our and a party such as this of ours can never be conquered.

In the discussion made in the meeting of the secretariat of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania on May 5, 1969, Comrade Enver Hoxha spoke also on the Marxist-Leninist stand which is maintained towards the Greek minority in our country.

On the attitude towards the minority, as on every other question, the party has fought and is fighting for the application of its correct line. For us, nationalist and chauvinist deviations are completely impermissible and harmful. The Greek minority is closely linked with socialist Albania. The members of the minority are Albanian citizens, they are our brothers who are living in socialism and enjoy all rights without any discrimination, like every other citizen of our republic. They have the right to retain their mother tongue, their customs and ways just as the whole Albanian people have this right. This is Marxist-Leninist.

The party has correctly laid down that in no way must the mother tongue of the minority people be denied or eliminated. They must learn their mother tongue without fail, and this also is Marxist. We are internationalists, so if someone speaks Greek or another language, this has no importance for the Marxists, especially in regards to the minority people in our country who are citizens with equal rights and live in our socialist society in which the Marxist-Leninist doctrine is applied.

Further on after speaking of the sound relations of the Albanians with the people of the minority, Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses:

In the minority we have a patriotic people who are linked extremely closely with our people and the party, who have embraced the line of the party and its directives in policy, in ideology, in the stand towards religion, in the line of the party and its directives in policy, in ideology, in the stand towards religion, in the economy and in everything, and apply them properly. The minority people are hard-working, every one of them considers himself an Albanian citizen and loves socialist Albania, loves the Party of Labour and has fought for them.

Likewise, the folklore of the minority, their songs, dances, poetry, etc, must be preserved as a spiritual treasury of the people. The folklore of the minority is part of the treasury of all our folk culture.

In a letter sent to the people of Bodrishta in upper Dropull, Gjirokastra, on June 29, 1974, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

The party made you and the whole Albanian people masters of the country. Now you work, produce and run things for yourselves.

All these and many other blessings for your village and all the villages of Dropull were brought by the party and its correct line. Our party overthrew the regime of oppression and injustice once and for all for our whole people, including the minority, the inhabitants of which for 30 years have been living free, in true brotherhood, and on the basis of our constitution, one of the most advanced in the world, they enjoy full and equal rights with the whole Albanian people in the People's Republic of Albania. That is why all our people, shoulder to shoulder with whom live the industrious and patriotic people of the minority, that inseparable part of our homeland, swear allegiance to our dear party which brought us from darkness into light,



which brought us these happy days and is leading us forward from victory to victory. That is why the people of the minority, in steel unity with our working class and our whole people, are working tirelessly under the leadership of their glorious Party of Labour for the construction of socialism and the defence of the homeland.

Ilia Nikolle Qiqi, a young teacher from the ranks of the minority, fell while performing his duty, putting the general interest above everything. On October 30, 1974, the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania awarded him the title "Hero of Socialist Labour" Comrade Enver Hoxha sent Ilia's family in Zervat of Gjirokaster a letter, in which he writes among others:

I have been deeply moved, both by the brave stand you took on receiving the sad news and the warm words you expressed about our dear party in the letter you sent me, and by the decision you took so quickly to send your other son and his other brother, Stefan, to continue Ilia's task, replacing him immediately in the post in which he served.

This is a lofty and meaningful gesture. The dispatch from Dropull of another member of your family to work in Burrel, expresses with the clarity of light that ardent patriotism and pure sense of socialist brotherhood which the party imbues day by day in our people. It is a great satisfaction that sons and daughters of the minority people go voluntarily and happily to every part of the country, because they are conscious that today their homeland is the whole of Albania, that socialism is being built everywhere, in the south and the north, and that every citizen finds happiness not only in his birth-place but all over the territory of our people's republic.

In a letter sent to the people of the villages of Dhivra, Cerkovica, Shendrer, Memoraq, etc, on November 25, 1975, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes among other things:

We received the unexpected bad news about the earthquake which struck your villages and households. The damage and grief, which this natural calamity has caused you now, on the verge of winter, has been felt deeply everywhere by the whole party and the Albanian people all over the homeland.

At these difficult moments, all our people, the party and its Central Committee feel themselves beside you and share with you the distress which the earthquake caused, just as they share your joys and blessings.

As soon as I received the sad news about what has occurred to you, I gave orders to the government to send you emergency aid immediately and at the same time take measures so that within the month of December all the houses made uninhabitable are rebuilt, while the damaged houses are repaired within the same time limit.

--The great minority and the Albanian people, have been and are bound together like flesh to bone.

In the reflection dated March 22, 1978, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes among others:

For some days I have been visiting the district of Gjirokaster. Today, at the centre of the higher-type cooperative of Grapsh I had a very warm and fraternal meeting with the people of the zone of Dropull. After speaking about the hardships which the people of the zone of Dropull, like all our people, suffered in the past under the anti-popular regimes, about the great all-round successes which they have achieved today thanks to their own work and struggle, the leadership of the party and the aid of the people's state power in all fields of life, as well as about the better future which awaits them, I went on to speak about some problems which have to do with their mother tongue and culture. I called upon them to preserve and develop the Greek language, the mother tongue of the minority people.

I spoke also of a number of current events of international life, as well as about the friendship, relations and mutual sympathy between our people and the Greek people. I told the people of Dropull that we love the Greek people because they are an honourable, intelligent people who have fought for their own freedom and independence. We have fought together with the fraternal Greek people in the past and in modern times. In regard to the friendship between our two peoples I said that it is cemented with the blood shed for freedom and independence against the same enemies.

At the rally of the people of Dropull region, at Grapsh on March 22, 1978, Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses among others:

The Greek minority and the Albanian people, especially the people of the district of Gjirokaster, have been and are bound together like flesh to one and have always loved and supported one another. Of course, here I am not referring to the villainous beys and aghas of Gjirokaster who were enemies of the people, but I am speaking of the poor people of Dropull and Gjirokaster who have been beside one another throughout history.

Our love for the people of the minority has never faded, it was steeled with the creation of the Communist Party of Albania and during the national liberation war. Our party, formed by the sons of Albania and the minority, struggled to ensure that the unity and love between us would grow stronger and stronger for centuries.

Albanians and people from the minority fought and sacrificed themselves together during the national liberation war and triumphed. They won Albania and made it theirs.

When we established the people's power, right from the first days the party and the government thought about the development of agriculture on all the plans of Albania, and especially on the plain of Dropull. But why did they think especially about Dropull? Was this because Enver Hoxha, as first

secretary of the Central Committee of the party, wanted this? No, our attitude towards national minorities was not at all fortuitous, but has its explanation in the fact that our party has always been guided by the Marxist-Leninist ideology on the national question, that the Albanians and members of the minority had suffered greatly, indeed the latter has suffered even more than the Albanians, and that the Albanians and the members of the minority fought and triumphed together.

The communists Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses, have worked wholeheartedly to ensure that there are schools in the Greek language in every village of Dropull. As a Marxist-Leninist I say that the Greek language, the mother tongue of the people of the minority, just be preserved and developed. Proletarian internationalism demands this, our Party of Labour of Albania, which always remains unwavering on this principle, demands this, because it is your mother tongue. The children of the minority must learn the Greek language while you adults must not forget it. You should also love the Albanian language, the language of our common socialist homeland just as much, because your sons and daughters will work and spread their knowledge not only here, in the minority, but over their homeland, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The Albanian language is both necessary and dear to you. I feel a great satisfaction that there is no need to have an interpreter beside me in order to communicate with you, because all of you understand Albanian.

--The Albanians and the national Greek minority in Albania have always loved the Greek people.

The Albanians and the Greek national minority in Albania have always loved the Greek people Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses further on, because they are a clever, kindly and honest people who have fought for their freedom and independence. We have united our weapons with the fraternal Greek people and have fought together in the past and in modern times. Our great poet Naim Frasheri, who went to school at the College of Zosimea in Janina, wrote a beautiful poem about the love for and friendship of the Albanian people with the Greek people. At difficult times for the Greek people, the Albanian people have fought in unity with them. The Greek revolution of 1821, led by Captains Alexander Ypsilanti, Theodor Kolokotroni and Bubulina, who was a strong woman, outstanding in the Greek revolution, was betrayed by all except the Albanians. The Tzar of Russia, the Bulgarians and the Serbs betrayed it, while the Albanians, with Markobocari and Xhavela from Suli, fought to the end shoulder to shoulder with their Greek brothers. The resistance of Ypsilanti and Kolokotroni came to an end in Morea where there were the nuclei of old Albanian settlements.

Our friendship with the Greek people is linked with the blood we have shed together in the struggle for freedom and independence against the same enemies. Further on speaking of the development of art and culture, the author says I am going to speak briefly about art and culture, too. I am not just trying to please you, but your folk art, your songs and dances are

outstanding for their melodiousness, their beautiful rhythm, their elegance, that is, yours is a cultured art. When performers from Dropull appear on the stage, immediately great joy can be seen among the audiences in our theatres.

I congratulate you people of Dropull on the preservation and development of your folk songs and dances and your beautiful costumes. You must preserve them because they are valuable not only to you, but to the whole of socialist Albania. Preserve your folklore, collect it and write it in Greek and translate it into Albanian, too. There are people from the minority who can help greatly in this direction, people like Pano Cuka whose writings I like very much, but there are others, too, who can write. Many of the teachers of the minority have this ability and to them I say, please, collect the legends, songs and folk tales of the people of Dropull, record them, because they are a treasure which belongs to our whole people. They should write the history of these heroic and militant people who have worked, acted and lived in brotherhood with the Albanian people.

--The patriotism of the people of the zone of Dropull is great, a socialist patriotism.

In the speech delivered at the meeting with cadres of the agricultural cooperatives of Vrisera and Grapsh, on March 22, 1978, Comrade Enver Hoxha said among others:

The patriotism of the people of the zone of Dropull is great, a socialist patriotism. At the meeting which I attended a few days ago with cadres in Gjirokaster, a comrade put it correctly when he said that chauvinism in the relations between the people of the minority and the Albanian people has long been eliminated. I agreed with his judgment and said that in our country there would never be either Greek chauvinism or Albanian chauvinism.

In Albania, proletarian internationalism finds its complete application and the rights of the minority are fully applied. On the basis of the constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, national minorities are guaranteed the development of their culture and folk traditions, the use of their language and teaching of it in school, and equal development in all fields of social life. Any action which infringes the rights of the minority is punished by law.

In Dropull, secretaries of the party organization, members of party bureaus, chairmen of cooperatives, chairmen and members of people's councils, doctors, midwives and teachers are from the minority.

On January 21, 1983, Comrade Enver Hoxha received a letter from the cooperativists of lower Dropull, in which they informed the leader of the party and people about the successes and victories they had achieved in the economic and social fields. On this occasion Comrade Enver Hoxha sent a letter to the people of Dropull, which stresses among the other things:

Your successes and victories, like those of our whole people, have achieved under the wise leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania. They are vivid testimony to its line and Marxist-Leninist internationalist stand, the result of the people's being in power. Like all our people, you, too, brothers and sisters of Sofratika, are in power. It is known that if the people are not in power there is no happy life, no freedom, no proletarian democracy, and human rights cannot be protected. If anyone tries to damage these things strike him down fearlessly, because beside you, you always have the Party of Labour, the wise leadership of the whole Albanian people and your leadership, that thinks about and safeguards good.

Strengthen your unity with one another, always love Albania and the Albanian people with that ardent love which characterizes you, because the Albanian people love you just as ardently. Close your ranks, Albanians and people of the minority because when you march shoulder to shoulder, our whole country progresses and prospers, socialism is built, the human spirit is beautified and Albania is made impregnable. Love the fraternal Greek people whom the Albanian people also love and respect. As always, we wish the Greek people well, just as they wish us.

[27 July 1985]

[Correct, principles and unflinching stands of the Albanian people and Government towards the aims and acts of the Greek chauvinist and monarch-fascist unwavering circles, incited also by foreign powers to destroy the friendship between our two peoples.]

[Text] Tirana, 27 Jul (ATA)--In his book "Two Friendly Peoples", (excerpts from the Political Diary and other documents on the Albanian-Greek relations, 1941-1984), Comrade Enver Hoxha rejects through different materials, speeches, etc, the chauvinistic claims of the northern Epirotes and other reactionary forces and exposes their acts against our country. The book clearly reveals the correct policy of the Albanian state to back up the progressive and realistic Greek forces.

--We are a people who want to live in peace.

At the 2d Congress of the anti-fascist youth of Albania, which held its proceedings in Tirana, on April 16, 1945 Comrade Enver Hoxha in his speech, among other things spoke also about the claims of Greek reaction on Albania. He stressed among the other things:

We are a people who want to live in peace with everybody, but when it comes to defending our rights, when it comes to defending the integrity of our homeland and the independence of Albania, we are not afraid to measure our strength with anyone, and no one frightens us. Let the monarcho-fascist gentlemen of Athens take note of this.

The question of the admission of Albania as a member of the United Nations was raised in the Security Council of that organization on February 12, 1946.

On this occasion, the head of the Greek delegation to UNO, Mr Rendis, in a letter to the Security Council, in which Albania is considered as a country which had been on the side of the axis, sought postponement of the discussion of its admission until the next session of the assembly.

In connection with this question, Comrade Enver Hoxha, in his reply to a question asked him by the newspaper BASHKIMI on March 10, 1946, amongst other things said:

...The argument of Mr Rendis presented to the UNO to oppose the admission of Albania to this organization, an argument supporting their (the Greek fascists') imperialist pretensions, is as ludicrous as the pretext of fascist Italy when it declared war on Greece, a pretext which was based on "the killing of a certain Daut Hoxha".

Mr Rendis, his government and all the Greek fascists ought to realize one thing, that what Greece suffered from Italy in 1940, our country suffered on April 7, 1939.

--Groundless accusations and absurd claims of Tsaldaris refuted.

In August 1946, the peace conference was being held in Paris. At the plenary session of this conference Comrade Enver Hoxha who headed the delegation of the Democratic Government of Albania, spoke about the national liberation war of the Albanian people and about the sacrifices and the contribution they made to the achievement of the victory over fascism. He also presented the views and stands of Albania about the problems which were being discussed and refuted the false accusations of Tsaldaris.

The Albanian people come proudly to this peace conference convinced that they have completely fulfilled their duty as allies, Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses.

However, before stating the viewpoint of my country on this question, I feel it my duty to answer the false accusations of Mr Tsaldaris, the head of the Greek delegation, accusations and claims that he has formulated against Albania at various earlier sessions of this conference.

Mr Tsaldaris tries to prove that Albania is not an allied country, that Albania attacked Greece, and consequently, is in a state of war with Greece. On the other hand, Mr Tsaldaris lays claim to southern Albania, pretending that it is Greek territory and belongs by right to Greece.

The Albania people contemptuously reject the vile accusation of the Greek delegate, who labels my country an aggressor. The Albanian people have never attacked the honest Greek people, and have never declared war on them. On the contrary, they sympathized with their cause, which was also the cause of the Albanian people, since both nations had suffered the same fate and had to deal with the same enemy.

It would be ridiculous the author continues to think that, by a paltry decree, Victor Emmanuel, king of Italy, could lay the blame on the Albanian people who waged a merciless war against Italy right from the first days of the occupation, and who even made an attempt on the king's life during his only visit to Albania in May 1941. Mr Tsaldaris uses the declaration of war on the part of the Albanian Quisling Verlaci as an argument to defend his thesis. The Albanian people lumped the occupiers and Quisling together, and made no distinction between them.

No, the Albanian people, the author continues have never been and never will be aggressors, and do not pose any threat to the Greek people, as Mr Tsaldaris claims. The attacks on our country by the first Greek delegate and his claims that it is we who are causing trouble, remind us of one of La Fontaine's fables. We have always lived in harmony with the Greek people, with whom we fought shoulder to shoulder against the Italian and German fascist occupiers.

The Greek delegation has claimed that the present Albanian Government is pursuing a policy of denationalizing the Greek minority in Albania.

Gentlemen, the Greek minority in Albania fought shoulder to shoulder with all the Albanian people against the fascist and nazi occupiers, and against the Albanian and Greek Quislings. Today in the People's Republic of Albania it enjoys equal rights with the Albanian population.

But the real aim of all these allegations by the Greek delegation is to take two regions from Albania, those of Korce and Gjirokaster, which have always been among the most ardent centres of Albanian patriotism, both during the long Turkish occupation and during the national liberation war against the Italian and German occupiers. These aims reflect the old "Megali Idher" policy, that is to say, of Greek imperialist expansion over the entire Balkan region, an idea which has also germinated in the heads of the present Greek rulers.

We solemnly declare that within our present borders there is not one inch of foreign soil, and that we will never permit anyone to encroach upon them, for to us they are sacred....

Before leaving Paris, Comrade Enver Hoxha made a clear and resolute statement to representatives of the press in Paris, in which he rejected the decision of this conference to discuss the borders of southern Albania. It says among others:

After so many sacrifices made by our people, after so many brilliant proofs of their heroism and self-denial, after so much blood shed by all mankind, there are individuals who shamelessly deny our gigantic efforts, who describe our war as a "myth", who want to place us on the same footing as the Italian fascist aggressors and who demand from our country territories which have never been theirs.

When the Albanian people were bravely fighting fascism Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses further, others were throwing flowers at it, but when the time came that our people demanded the place they so richly deserved in the UNO or the peace conference, stones were thrown at them. My people will never be able to understand this logic, because this is not honourable.

We are peace-loving people, but we are not a people who allow others to trample on us. We know how to defend our rights, our freedom, our independence, our sovereignty and our territorial integrity. The Greek monarcho-fascists are even going so far as to demand southern Albania, because, they claim, "It is Greek territory". The Paris conference voted in favour of the Greek demand, the aim of which is discussion of the borders of southern Albania. (On August 30, 1946, the plenary meeting of the Paris peace conference, by a small majority of vote and in violation of the rights and sovereignty of the Albanian people, unjustly decided to include in the agenda of the next plenary meeting of the conference the Greek demand which placed the borders of southern Albania in dispute.

At the plenary meeting of September 6, the Greek demand was not even mentioned, while at the plenary meeting of September 26, it turned out that the Greek delegation had withdrawn the draft resolution presented on August 30 about its territorial claims on Albania.

Thus, the discussion of the borders of southern Albania, which was placed on the agenda of the conference on the basis of the Greek demand and proposal, was withdrawn by its own authors and the Greek monarcho-fascists, along with international reaction which supported them, suffered a sensational and disgraceful fiasco.)

I solemnly declare that neither the Paris conference nor the big four conference, nor any other conference can take up for discussion the borders of our country within which there is not an inch of foreign territory. Our borders cannot be discussed and no one will dare to lay a finger on them.

On the other hand, I protest against the decision taken at the plenary session of the Paris conference. The Albanian people have not sent their delegation to Paris to render account, but to demand a reckoning from those who have damaged them so greatly and whom they have fought sternly through to the end. Apparently, however, the Paris conference did not take these things into account.

--The Albanian people and Government have never meddled and will never meddle in the internal affairs of Greece. We sympathize with the effort of the Greek people for freedom and democracy.

At a big rally which was held in the city of Gjirokaster on October 3, 1947, Comrade Enver Hoxha, delivered a speech in which he also dwelt on problems of the international situation, and in this context, touched briefly on some political developments in the neighbouring countries. About the situation in Greece, he said:



Anyone who considers himself a democrat could not but sympathize with the efforts of the Greek people for freedom and democracy. However, the struggle of the Greek people is an internal struggle that they and they alone must deal with, and it does not behoove our people and our government to meddle in any way in the internal problems of others. The Albanian people and Government have never meddled and never will meddle in the internal affairs of Greece, because they are the problems of the Greek people themselves and they must solve their problems in the way they themselves desire. This has been, is, and will be our stand. I repeat this, because you know what a campaign of slanders and lies has been launched against our country by the Greek monarcho-fascists and their American and British protectors. They make the accusation that our country is allegedly interfering in the problems of Greece, that we are assisting the struggle of the democrats, and that allegedly we are supplying them with arms and ammunition, and hence, from this they want to draw the conclusion that the struggle of the Greek people is being incited and maintained by foreigners. No, our people do not have a finger in the war of the Greek people, but when the Americans, British and monarcho-fascists make these accusations and slanders, their aim is to cover up the true nature of the war of the Greek people, to cover up the origin of this war, to cover up the terror of Greek monarcho-fascism, to cover up the tragic game they are engaged in, or I might say, their open savage intervention. It is as tragic as it is ridiculous for America to accuse our small, peace-loving people of being the cause of the war which is being waged in Greece and supplying arms and ammunition for this war. No one can swallow this, the Americans can convince only themselves.

What is occurring in Greece is the doing of American and British reaction and the monarcho-fascists alone and of nobody else. Monarcho-fascist Greece has not only been transformed into a base of American reaction, but it has also become a threat to peace in the Balkans and the world.

The Greek monarcho-fascists, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes further on are concocting the basest slanders that the Albanians allegedly kill, torture and burn out the small Greek minority that lives in our region of Gjirokaster. No, you know better than anyone that we have the Greek minority in Albania as our brothers. The members of the minority are linked with the Albanian people like flesh to bone.

In the note dated April 28, 1967, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes among others:

The monarcho-fascist dictatorship has been restored in Greece. The power of the fascist generals, which has the Glucksburg king at the head and the support of American imperialism, is reestablishing the terror in Greece.

What is occurring in Greece does not frighten us at all, but we do not underestimate the danger in any way, that is why we have taken all the necessary measures.

For the time being there is nothing to be alarmed at, because at these moments the monarcho-fascists are not sure of themselves, and are concerned to consolidate the positions internally. Later they may recommence their provocations against us, but they will always receive a lightning reply from us which will destroy any plan they hatch up and spoil their appetite.

--The efforts of reaction to create hostile groups in our country will never be successful.

As has always been their custom, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes on August 2, 1967, the Greek monarcho-fascists are barking again about "northern Epirus". Their claims against Albania are a permanent leitmotif of theirs, a political broth which they serve up to internal opinion to get out of the crises, to win the elections, to incite anti-communism, etc. But from the words to the deeds there is a long road full of dangers and bloodshed, which has to be got over and they are quite unable to do so.

"The efforts of reaction to create hostile groups in our country will never be successful" is the title of Comrade Enver Hoxha's note taken on February 14, 1984, which says:

Both Serbian and Greek reaction are trying to create hostile groups in our country and by whispering in the ears of certain individuals, to arouse dissatisfaction in the Greek and Macedonian, (on the basis of the general census of the population on January 7, 1979, there were 4,163 persons of Slavonic nationality in Albania) minorities. Yugoslav reaction is working to arouse discontent in the minorities with the aim of using this as a counterweight to the events in Kosova. To this end, both these reactionary groupings have the support of American reactionary circles today.

In connection with this fact, on the basis of historical documents from the Second World War, it turns out that the United States of America was opposed to giving Greece southern Albania or "northern Epirus", as the Greeks call it, while Britain was in favour "in order to give satisfaction to Greece".

What were the reasons for such a stand by the United States of America? It could be our relations with the Soviet Union, or Yugoslavia, with which we were on friendly terms at that time, or some other issue of great concern to the Americans, we do not know precisely. Today, however, the situation has changed and the Americans have turned into supporters of Greek reaction. This may also be a consequence of the fact that the Greek lobby has great influence within the American state organs, such as the Senate, for instance.

In regard to the comparison which reaction makes between the oppression of the people of Kosovo by the Serbs and the situation of the Greek minority in our country, there is no truth at all in this. The Greek minority in our country enjoys all the rights which the Albanian people enjoy. Indeed, in some directions it has been more favoured than the Albanians themselves, such as in being supplied with electric light, water, etc. earlier. The standard of living of the members of the minority, too, is higher than almost anywhere else in our country. In Kosovo the Albanians suffer political and economic oppression, they are denied all rights.

In the future, too, the line of our party will be strictly applied to the minority. The members of the minority will always be treated as brothers and be given everything that is given to our people. The situation in the minority is healthy, as is the friendship between the members of the minority and the Albanians.

In regard to the problem of religion, the priests of Athens, the Vatican, or anywhere, else, should know very well that the time of religion and churches in socialist Albania has gone forever. Those who want to, may cling to their personal beliefs, but to have religious institutions here in Albania, to have a church like an independent "kingdom" within the state of our republic, which would establish and organize secret links with Catholics, Greek, Serbian or other reaction, this we will not permit even if the American Senate or the whole of America rises to demand it.

[28 July 1985]

[The friendship between the Albanian people and the Greek people serves the cause of peace in the Balkans, the Mediterranean and even further afield]

[Text] Tirana, 28 Jul (ATA)--In his book "Two Friendly Peoples" (excerpts from the Political Diary and other documents on the Albanian-Greek Relations, 1941-1985), Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses among the other things that the Albanian-Greek relations are not only of economic and cultural importance, but they have also a great value in the political field.

Through different materials Comrades Enver Hoxha stresses that the friendly atmosphere between the two neighbouring peoples is of great importance also to expose the intrigues and plots of the imperialist and social imperialist power, which resort to all means to incite hostility between the peoples of this peninsula, etc.

--The relations of friendship and good neighbourliness between Albania and Greece are in the common interest of the two countries and in the interest of peace in the Balkans.

Dealing with international events and the foreign policy of our country in Chapter 4 of the reported delivered at the 3d Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania on May 25, 1956, Comrade Enver Hoxha, also spoke about the relations of our country and people with Greece and the Greek people, where he said among other things:

The Albanian people know the Greek people as a cultured, modest, industrious and freedom-loving people and are immensely grieved when they see that good neighbourly relations with them are being hindered by the Greek chauvinists who claim that Albanian and Greece are allegedly in a state of war. Such an absurd claim hinders the normalization of the situation between our countries. Another hindrance to normal relations between our countries is the claim of the Greek chauvinists to southern Albania. How is it possible that in the 20th century such fantastic, baseless and predatory claims could be made against a country and a people who throughout their existence have fought

for their own land, for their freedom and independence? Of course, such pretensions will remain only desires which will never be realized, because the borders of Albania are inviolable and will remain so. But we hope and desire that people of goodwill, the democratic and progressive people in Greece and the Greek Government itself will take a more realistic and just view of the issues, because relations of friendship and good neighbourliness between Albania and Greece are in the common interest of the two countries and in the interest of peace in the Balkans. The intrigues of imperialists who have no goodwill either towards the Greek people or the Albanian people, and the intrigues of those who aim to create and maintain a tense situation between our two countries, must stop.

On June 20, 1959, Comrade Enver Hoxha visited the united cooperative of Safiratiak in the zone of lower Dropull where he spoke at the meeting organized on this occasion.

After stressing the great changes which have been made in Dropull and those which will be made in the near future in all fields of life, especially in agriculture and livestock-farming, he also spoke about some questions of the relations of our country with the neighbouring countries.

We Comrade Enver Hoxha said among others, desire to live in friendship with all people, and especially with the neighbouring peoples. We have been and are friends with the Yugoslav peoples, but the Yugoslav revisionist leaders, who are running things in Yugoslavia today, are enemies of Marxism-Leninism, and hence, of our Marxist-Leninist party. Towards them we have been and are very vigilant, and in the interest of defending the victories of our people, we shall never diminish our vigilance.

Likewise, we love the Greek people, too. Not only we communists, who are internationalists, but all the Albanian people love the Greek people, who are a good, hard-working people, with culture and great revolutionary traditions. We want to live in peace with them, just as we do with the Italian people.

On July 8, 1960, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

I received the Soviet ambassador, Ivanov, who informed me about the talk which Khrushchev had with Sophocles Venizelos. During this talk the latter had proposed to Khrushchev that, in order to improve relations with Albania, the Greek minority of Albania should be given autonomy. Khrushchev had replied to Venizelos, saying among other things that he would transmit his desire and proposal to "the Albanian comrades", because he was going to meet them in Bucharest, etc.

I told Ivanov that I oppose the stand which Khrushchev took, that I do not agree at all with the reply that he gave Venizelos, and consider it as a reply not of a friend of Albania, and not at all appropriate for the high post which Khrushchev holds.

We allow no one, not even Khrushchev, to discuss the borders of our country.

--We are sincerely for the policy of good neighbourliness, because we are convinced that such a policy responds to the interest of both Albania and of the neighbouring countries.

The 4th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania held its proceedings in Tirana from 13-20 February 1961. In the report delivered to the congress, Comrade Enver Hoxha spoke also about the desire of Albania to live in friendship with all the peoples, particularly with neighbouring peoples. He said among other things:

We have great love and respect for the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia and Greece and we desire and will work ceaselessly to ensure that this sincere friendship which we feel for those fraternal neighbouring peoples is strengthened.

The vital interests of the peoples of this zone present the socialist and non-socialist countries with the urgent need for the coordination of their joint efforts to ensure the peace and collaboration between states on the basis of the principles of non-interference, equality and mutual interest. We are sincerely for the policy of good neighbourliness, because we are convinced that such a policy responds to the interests both of Albania and of the neighbouring countries.

At the speech delivered at the rally of the people of Gjirokaster District, on November 14, 1961, Comrade Enver Hoxha, dealing with our foreign policy, stressed:

We are faithfully pursuing the line of peaceful coexistence, but the coexistence which Lenin and Stalin have taught us, not that of the revisionist Khrushchev. We want to have good relations with the Yugoslav Government, but we shall never cease exposing the pro-American policy and anti-Marxist stands of the Titoite clique. We conduct trade with Yugoslavia and we want to continue this trade. Likewise, we want to have good relations with Greece, too, irrespective of what regime exists in that country.

However, N. Khrushchev understands these matters differently. He understands our coexistence with Greece and Yugoslavia differently. He wants us to cease the political and ideological struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists immediately. N. Khrushchev's concept of our coexistence with Greece is that we should give it the right to gobble up Korce and Gjirokaster, to which Greek reaction has long had pretensions.

N. Khrushchev does not like our stand, but that does not worry us. The line of our party is, first of all, to the liking of our people who defend their homeland, its sacred borders and its freedom and independence. This is Marxist and not at all nationalist or chauvinist. Our party has never displayed chauvinist sentiments. A population nearly equal to that in Albania lives in Kosova, Metohia, Macedonia and Montenegro. This population has suffered every kind of torture and massacre from the Krals of Serbia. And

to this day it is suffering in the same way at the hands of the new Krals of Yugoslavia. To defend your homeland and people is completely Marxist. Therefore, time after time, our party has raised its voice in defence of the rights of our brothers in Yugoslavia but it has never nurtured chauvinist sentiments.

--Socialist Albania will never allow itself to violate the freedom, independence and sovereignty of other countries.

In the report submitted to the 6th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, which was held on November 1-7, 1971, speaking of the position of Albania in the international arena, Comrade Enver Hoxha dwelt especially on problems of the Balkans. The strengthening of friendship among the peoples of this zone. He said among other things:

Our country has always shown goodwill and has undertaken constructive steps to maintain and develop normal relations with all countries with differing social systems, on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, equality, respect for state sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in the domestic affairs of one another, and mutual advantage.

We are friends and brothers with the peoples of Yugoslavia. We hope that the feelings of friendship, forged in the anti-fascist war, will be developed in a proper way for the common good of our peoples. In the Albanian people the peoples of Yugoslavia will always have friends who wish to see them free, independent, and sovereign, who resolutely oppose all the maneuvers, blackmail, and threats of the imperialist powers towards our neighbour Yugoslavia.

Good relations exist between our country and Italy and Turkey. The preservation and development of them responds to our common interests. Diplomatic relations were established this year also between Albania and Greece. This is an important event which put an end to an abnormal situation and which serves the strengthening of peace and security in the Balkans.

The People's Republic of Albania desires and will strive to forge its friendship with the Balkan peoples on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. The regime of each country is a matter for its own people. We do not interfere in the internal affairs of anyone, but neither should others interfere in ours. This does not exclude mutual criticism and polemics. Socialist Albania will never allow itself to violate the freedom, independence and sovereignty of other countries. The Albanian people have never done such a thing during their whole history, but neither will they allow others to violate their freedom, independence and sovereignty.

The Albanian people who have suffered for centuries from barbarous invaders, who won their freedom by shedding rivers of blood, advise the fraternal peoples of the Balkans to guard against the intrigues of the imperialists of each and every hue, to tell them jointly, "hands off our countries," to permit no one to abuse our friendship.

The Balkan peoples are completely capable of deciding for themselves and in a sovereign way on the relations between them. They did not make the Balkans a "powder keg". It was the foreigners, the imperialists, who did this in the past, and it was they who held all the detonators in their hands. And they would like to bring about the same situation today. It is the duty of the Balkan peoples to cut all the fuses with the sword, so that peace and security may really be established in the Balkans.

It is only natural that our peoples need friends. But they should never become tools of foreigners to the detriment of the interests of any one people, or of all our peoples jointly. This is the most sincere and steel-like alliance that can be proposed to the Balkan peoples.

It should be clear that if some Balkan state, prodded by the imperialist powers, undertakes aggression against another Balkan state, it will not be possible to avoid the intervention of the other Balkan states. This would not remain a local war, but would become the cause of a world conflict.

All the states that respect the supreme rights of socialist Albania, that implement the recognized principles on which the relations between sovereign states are based and wish to maintain normal relations with us, will find understanding and reciprocity in the People's Republic of Albania.

We are friends with the neighbouring Yugoslav and Greek peoples, Comrade Enver Hoxha said among others in the address to the electors of the Electoral Zone No 209 in Tirana, on October 3, 1974. These peoples have no slavish spirit, and they had demonstrated this over and over again throughout the centuries of their history. The Albanians, the Yugoslavs and the Greeks are not the kind of people who keep a pistol in their belt just for show when the Americans, the Soviets or anyone else try to attack them and rob them of their freedom and sovereignty.

We have said and we say again to the peoples of Yugoslavia and Greece that Albania's borders with them will always be quiet, the enemy will first have to do battle with us Albanians, will be broken here and will hardly reach their borders. We trust that the same will occur from their side towards us. We Albanians wish the peoples of Yugoslavia and Greece well. We must promote our friendship in the way most suitable to each without interfering in one another's internal affairs, and we must not permit anything within our territories which, for one reason or another, may violate or threaten the interests of good neighbourliness. Albania, Yugoslavia and Greece are not only living without the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, but their life is also free and independent.

We say to our neighbours that in our country there are and there will be no foreign military bases, but we wish that they too, would get rid of the foreign military bases in their countries. There is no valid pretext for the fleets of the two superpowers to be permitted even the right to anchor, to be repaired, or supplied, let alone to have permanent bases in these countries. This is very dangerous both to the country that makes these concessions and to its neighbours.

In the note dated August 6, 1977, entitled:

"The Chauvinist Views of a Yugoslav Ambassador", Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses that, in a talk which the Yugoslav ambassador in Athens had with our ambassador he told him: "I have heard that the Greeks are preparing to hold a congress of Greek Macedonians in Salonica. We are not pleased about this, because we are very touchy about such things and do not want the Greeks to hold such congresses with the Macedonians".

The question arises: Why should the Greeks not hold such a congress with their Macedonian citizens who are in Greece, while the Yugoslav chauvinists allegedly have the right to keep in bondage 1,800,000 Albanians for whom all those difficult situations are being created? Many of them have been interned in concentration camps, have been forcibly moved to Turkey, they are not allowed to learn their mother tongue, etc, etc. Why do the Yugoslav chauvinists allegedly have the right to set their propagandists working against the People's Republic of Albania and to go on preparing such things even now? They think that they can hold congresses with the national minorities who live in Yugoslavia, while others must not do similar things. This stand, of course, speaks of the chauvinist views of the Yugoslavs.

The Yugoslav chauvinists want to create greater Yugoslavia, they want the Greeks to recognize that the Macedonians who live in Greece are part of the population of the Macedonian republic within the Yugoslav federation. Likewise, they are demanding that the Bulgarians, too, recognize that they have a Macedonian minority in Pirin, so that at some time the Yugoslavs can extend their borders to take in these Macedonians and even to take Salonica.

The Macedonian leaders are showing themselves more catholic than the pope, more chauvinist than the Serbs. At present they are behaving towards the Albanians with dreadful and disgraceful arrogance, in such an insulting and revolting way that, of course, the Albanians of Macedonia will not easily forget it.

This makes one think of the statement of the Yugoslav chauvinist ambassador in Athens was made for chauvinist purposes.

"Titoite Yugoslavia, the sick man of the Balkans, is maneuvering to set the Balkan peninsula ablaze" is the title of the note dated June 5, 1981 where Comrade Enver Hoxha writes among others:

This is what TANJUG said yesterday, June 4: "Tirana, through its diplomatic missions in Washington and at the United Nations in New York, as well as through various scientific and university institutions in the USA, has distributed a political map of 'greater Albania' in which it includes the territories of Greek Epirus from Preveza to Florina, including the cities of Janina, Igoumentisa, Conitsa, etc, which it calls 'the region of Cameria occupied by Greece'," and TANJUG added that the minister of foreign affairs has been asked a question about this in the Greek Parliament and that the newspaper ACROPOLIS has published a commentary against "Albanian expansionism" and "the persecution of the Greek minority in Albania", etc.



--This intrigue of the great-Serb clan and its agents, which has been concocted on the basis of medieval patterns, is one of the filthiest and also one of the most dangerous. It is the work of the Yugoslav secret police, the agents of which are among and operate in the diplomatic representations of Yugoslavia in Washington, New York and other American cities. These are the agents who, with the authorization of official circles of Yugoslavia and in coordination and collaboration with the blackest reactionary circles of great-Greek chauvinism that exist in the USA, have organized such as anti-Albanian and anti-Greek fabrication.

The great-Greek reactionary group, whether in Greece or in the United States of America, has never ceased its slanders. They have said many wicked things against the Albanians, have charged us with many crimes against the Greek minority which is living happily in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and have printed various maps to define "the borders to which their northern-Epirus extends", but they have never published any map in order to say that the Albanians have territorial claims to Greek territory, that they demand Arta, Preveza, Janina up to Florina, or even further, as TANJUG pretends. Moreover, hitherto neither their press nor any Greek Government has ever mentioned such an issue, because there have been no such claims from our side and this question has never been raised by us.

--Without a blush, one fine morning, following the tragic events which the Yugoslav chauvinists caused in Kosova, (in the spring of 1981, the Yugoslav leadership, using the army and tanks, launched a savage terror against the people of Kosovo, who had risen in powerful demonstrations against injustices, demanding that Kosovo should be proclaimed a republic within the Yugoslav Federation) where for the third or fourth time the secret police and the Serbian army committed a terrible genocide against Albanians who are living on their own territories in Yugoslavia. They brought out the allegation that we Albanians have distributed in Washington and the headquarters of the United Nations a "map", in which we have allegedly included Cameria within the borders of the People's Republic of Albania.

--"Brilliant invention" of the Satanic Yugoslav police to spoil the good friendship which exists between socialist Albania and democratic Greece and which is not to the advantage of the great-Serbs and their Soviet secret allies, who hatched up this provocation in order to conceal the Genocide in Kosovo and to "prove" that "the Albanians are not only interfering in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, but are also interfering in Greece and have territorial claims against it," and in order to complete the theorem, they conclude that "the Albanians are nationalists, chauvinists and irredentists".

--We tell the great-Serbs that the friendship of the Albanian people with the Greek people thorough the centuries has been one of the finest and most sincere. Such a friendship is being rebuilt today, too, and you and your allies are trying in vain to ruin it.

In conclusion, we indignantly reject this vile slander which is a continuation of many other slanders by the Titoites.

--The attempts by any one to disrupt the friendship of the Albanian people with the Greek people will fail.

In the report on the activity of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, that Comrade Enver Hoxha delivered at the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania which was opened in Tirana on November 1, 1981, he also analysed contemporary political problems and, dwelling on the situation in the Balkans, he treated the question of the relations of our country with Greece.

The problems of the Balkans the author said among others are the same as those which are worrying Europe as a whole, but here, because of the strategic position which this peninsula occupies and the old feuds, the conflicts are more acute and the dangers greater.

The situation is made even more complicated by the fact that the superpowers, proceeding from their hegemonic interests and their desire to transform the Balkans "permanently into a powder keg" are trying to arouse chauvinist passions and sentiments, to set the Balkan peoples and countries against one another, to prevent the relations between them from developing normally and in a positive direction, and to undermine the strengthening of friendship between neighbouring peoples.

The dangers in the Balkans are increased especially due to the participation of some countries of this region in the military and economic blocs of the superpowers, the existence of foreign military bases, and permitting the American and Soviet fleets to enter their territorial waters and stay in their ports, etc.

Such developments create tensions and are fraught with dangers for the Balkan peoples. In every direction and aspect they are in opposition to the sincere efforts and desires of the peoples of the Balkans for the establishment of trust, understanding and genuine collaboration between the countries of our peninsula.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania upholds the view that at present the genuine aspirations of the peoples of the Balkans, peace and stability in this zone, can be served best by not allowing the imperialist superpowers to interfere in the internal affairs of the countries of our region and by taking concrete and constructive steps for the positive development of relations on the basis of the good neighbour policy. The situation in the Balkans would be greatly improved if the Balkan countries undertake officially not to allow the superpowers to threaten or endanger other neighbouring countries from their territories. In the future, just as in the past, socialist Albania will consistently adhere to this policy and will make every effort to ensure that mutual respect and genuine understanding prevail in its relations with the neighbouring states....

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has devoted special care to strengthening friendly relations with Greece. In recent years these relations have assumed further development in all fields.

The friendship between the Albanian people and the Greek people is a lasting friendship, which will be ceaselessly strengthened and will flourish in the interests of our peoples and peace and security in the Balkans. Efforts by anyone to break this friendship will fail.

In the speech in the meeting with the electors of the Electoral Zone No 210 of Tirana on November 10, 1982, Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses:

We have good relations with the Italian people and we do not confuse them with Musolini's fascists who spread death and destruction in our country.

The regimes of our two countries are opposed to each other. We have our own laws and way of life, and the Italians have theirs. Nevertheless, we have normal trade and cultural relations with Italy, which we are ready to extend on the basis of mutual benefit and without interfering in each other's internal affairs.

The Albanian people and the Turkish people have a great love for each other. We make "diplomatic love" with nobody. This is not the custom of the Albanians but, when we pledge our word, we keep it and do not turn whichever way the wind blows....

We love and respect the Greek people, because they nurture the same feelings of friendship towards the Albanian people. We are sincere with each other. Neither wishes the other ill, but only well. These are historical links, cemented with the blood shed together against the same occupiers. We do not confuse the feelings of the Greek people with those of the chauvinists.

We shall develop our relations of friendship with the Greek people further. Regrettably, however, for the past 40 years, without any reason, the "law on the state of war with Albania", an absurd law without any basis, which is condemned both by the Albanian people and the Greek people, as well as by world opinion, has been maintained in Greece. Every reasonable and realistic person in Greece understands that such a law hampers the shortening of ways for an even more friendly development in the direction of Artapreveza, and Janina as well as the whole of Greece.

Today, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes on February 14, 1984. In the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the party we exchanged opinions about the results which might emerge from the meeting in Athens of experts in the Balkan countries on "inter-Balkan cooperation and examination of the possibilities of turning the Balkans into a zone of peace, free of nuclear weapons".

On this occasion I mentioned to the comrades a report from Athens by a correspondent of the Yugoslav Agency TANJUG, which, in dealing with some problems of the Athens meeting, tries to attack us. The article speaks about a

"mini Helsinki charte", about the problem of bilateral and multilateral relations, about the creation of a "Balkan common market", about a "united Balkans, without atomic weapons but with conventional weapons outside the control of superpowers", etc, etc. I said that besides attacking us, through this material the Yugoslavs were also trying to deceive us and to lead us into a trap. For example, if you want Greece to revoke "the law on the state of war" with you, come here to the Athens meeting where we will approve a joint document if you are for the status quo of border, take a Balkan-wide commitment so that we will not demand from you a re-examination of borders, etc., etc, they say.

From this correspondence it emerges that the inclination of Yugoslavs is to create a "bloc" allegedly open, but in fact closed, allegedly independent, but in fact dependent on both sides, the West and the East. In this way this "mini bloc" becomes a third bloc in Europe: The NATO bloc, the Warsaw Treaty bloc, and the Balkan bloc. Next, commercial activity should be coordinated, that is the "Balkan common market", like the European Common Market and COMECON, should be created, the borders should be opened as Yugoslavia has opened its borders, etc, etc.

Behind all this policy, stands the United States of America. But the Soviet Union is there, too. The latter is trying to be on the inside in order to know the situation better, because in reality it wants the Balkan countries to be divided so that it can gobble them up more easily.

[29 July 1985]

[The Greek people have made a great contribution to the treasure of the world culture.]

[Text] Tirana, 29 Jul (ATA)--In his book "Two Friendly Peoples", (excerpts from the Political Diary and other documents on the Albanian-Greek relations, 1941-1984), Comrade Enver Hoxha through different writings assesses the ancient Greek art and culture, the rich traditions of this people. He assesses with great scientific objectivity the southern neighbours, the brilliant Greek philosophy and the great contribution which the Greek people have made to the treasure of world culture.

--The Hellenic culture, the most ancient and advanced culture, which gave brilliance to the world.

In the note entitled "Interesting studies about the antiquity of our people" on March 1958, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes among others:

Professor Spiro Konda has sent me a synopsis of his work: The Albanians and the Pelasgian Problem. In it, basing himself on the works of great Greek writers of antiquity, like Homer, or philosophers like Aristotle, and making comparisons of the language of the Albanians with Sanskrit and other languages like ancient Greek, or on historical facts, place names, archeological discoveries, geographical data, etc, he tries to prove the antiquity and origin of the Albanian people, ranks them as contemporary with the "Japhethic" peoples and links their ancestry with the Pelasgians.

Obviously these are studies which require further elaboration and proof.

In a note dated May 6, 1959, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes among others:

At today's meeting of the Political Bureau we examined some fundamental problems which emerged from the discussion that was held about the draft of the history of Albania.

I spoke, too. I praised the draft, which overall has many good points, but also has problems which require further elaboration. I gave my opinions about some of them.

In his contribution to the discussion, Comrade Enver Hoxha speaking about the importance of a scientific approach to the origin of a people, among other things says:

The important problem which merits discussion is that of the origin of our people.

The problem of the most ancient peoples and cultures, including Pelasgians, has been studied by various historians and scholars whose aim has been to discover how civilization developed in the world. In their views, they express different rivalries aiming to place certain groups of peoples above the others. In general, the view has existed that the bigger peoples, like the Chinese, the Indians, the Germans and the Slavs, predominated in the development of culture. All of them have defended the Hellenic culture and have considered it the most ancient and advanced culture which gave brilliance to the world. On the basis of these theses a barrier has been raised to the study of other peoples. However, according to those who are recognized as the most ancient Hellenic authors, amongst whom is Homer, it turns out that other, more ancient peoples existed before the Hellenes, and the Pelasgians were one of them. But there have been and are in Greece persons who want to place the origin of the Greek people even earlier.

Konda (Prof Spiro Konda) has sent us an article by a Greek writer who says that the Pelasgians contributed to the development of the Hellenic culture, etc. Our students can hardly reject this or the thesis that the Pelasgians are the ancestors of the Albanians solely on the grounds that others have rejected it. We do not say that Konda is original, but we are not of the opinion that these things should be rejected.

--Greece has a rich and varied folklore.

In the notes of August 21, 1977, entitled:

"A people with a rich and varied folklore," Comrade Enver Hoxha, proceeding from the performance of the Greek artistic ensemble "Marinella" writes among others concerning the Greek folklore.

Although I am not well informed about the situation of this folklore, from my reading about the history of the Greek people I can say a few words about the development of their art and culture.

On the basis of what I know, I can state with certainty that Greece, like our country, has a rich and varied folklore. Our people preserve their traditions of this great heritage and the Greek people, likewise, preserve their own heritage and traditions to some degree.

I have read that the folklore ballet troupe, which is called "Dora Stratou", preserves the folk songs and dances and has created a number of dances through which, even in our time, the glorious past of the Greek people can be seen. I have read, for example, that one of the beautiful dances of valour, which is practised in Greek folklore, is that which is called "Pyrrhic". There are heroic songs and others in Greek folklore which are some of the most beautiful that the Greek folk genius has created. These are sung accompanied on the lyre and are dedicated to the valiant deeds of Greek warrior leaders in the war against the Ottomans.

We can say that the Greek orchestra of the "Martinella" ensemble which gave performances in our country, was warmly welcomed, because its songs and dances were melodious and contained the griefs, love and the hopes of the Greek people. In my opinion, from what I know of Greek art, from reading and paintings, the songs were interpreted very beautifully, first of all, by the main artist, Marinella herself, who through the songs, with her mimicry and gestures, resembled the choirs and dancers of ancient times, presented artistically in the dramas of Aeschylus, Aristophanes and other great Greek writers, which were performed in the amphitheatres of Delphi, Dodona, in the Pantheon of Athens and elsewhere. The graceful movements of the fingers, hands and arms of this Greek artist were precisely like the monuments of the time of Praxiteles, Pericles, the monuments of Venus, Aphrodite and the victory of Samothrace. I watched the performance of songs by this outstanding artist with an attentive eye and I thought of the famous Greek art.

--The Greek world of antiquity is such a broad and rich field of knowledge.

In the note of July-August 1983 "About the brilliant Greek philosophy" Comrade Enver Hoxha writes among others:

My reading and studies about the Greek civilization I began when I was a pupil at the Lycee Francais in Korce, to the extent they were included in the curriculum of that school and could be learned there. But I must say, at this school I was fascinated with my first introduction to the siege of Troy, the Achaeans, Achilles, Agamemnon, Patrocles, Ulixes and Hector, in other words, I learned about Homer's Iliad and Odyssey.

I can say that my being from Gjirokaster has influenced me to feel a sense of good neighbourliness with the Greek people.

The fact that our people coexist so well with the Greek minority that lives and works alongside us in our country also fostered in me respect for the history and civilization of the Greek people. This friendship existed also between my family and members of the Greek minority in Dropull. Likewise, the glorious history of the Albanians who lived in Greece, where they had

settled from the 13th-14th centuries onward, was a bond of the friendship between the Arvanites and the Greeks. As early as 1821, the Albanians with Bocari, Xhavella, Miauli, Kollokotroni and others as their leaders, fought with outstanding heroism in the Greek revolution of the 19th century for the liberation of the Greek people.

These things and my passion for the Greek civilization have impelled me to study it and deepen the knowledge which I had gained from my lessons at school.

The Greek world of antiquity the author writes is such a broad and rich field of knowledge that it takes a lifetime to assimilate even a synopsis of the studies of its different periods.

Of course, in my studies of the Greek culture, as in the study of the culture of any given people, I have had to acquaint myself with the settlements of Greeks, with the land, with the people and with their material and spiritual development.

Studies of the establishment of the Greek people in the Balkan peninsula, on the shores washed by the waters of the Aegean Sea, on the coast of Asia Minor, around the Black Sea, on the shores of southern Italy, Sicily, in Cyrene, and in the island of Crete, as well as the development of the Greek civilization of these territories from the 8th century before our era, have interested me.

Achaea, Arcadia, Elis, Messenia, Argolis, Laconia in the Peloponnesus, the island of Crete, Mycenea, etc, have played a major role all through Greek history. (The British archaeologist Evans made discoveries at Cnossos of Crete.)

The plains of Boeotia, the island of Eubea, the peninsula of Attica and the mountains of Parnasus played an exceptionally important role in antiquity. The role of island and the sea was very great in the development of the civilization, the trade and cultural exchanges between Greeks and other peoples of the Mediterranean basin and the Near East, the Assyrians, the Sumerians, the Egyptians, the Babylonians, the Persians, the Medes, the Phoenicians and others. Among the books in my personal library I have some which tell of the Aegean world, of the epoch of the palaces of Crete, and of the excavations at Mycenae and Troy by Schlimann and Evans. History is greatly indebted to archaeology.

Further on Comrade Enver Hoxha, writing about the "Ionian civilization", stresses among the other things:

Ionia, a province of Asia Minor, on the shores of the Aegean Sea, in the present Gulf of Smyrna (Izmir-Turkey), is considered the place where Greek science was born about the end of the 7th century and the beginning of the 6th century before our era. The first Greek philosophical school was founded in Miletus, one of the cities of Ionia.

In the Ionian League there were many weaknesses. In Miletus and Samos rich and poor were in permanent conflict. This was one side of the medal. The other side was a brilliant civilization: monumental buildings, like the Temple of Hera in Samos and of Artemis in Ephesus, marvellous sculptures and statues, the beauty of which contrasted with the huge, graceless, uninteresting statues of the continent: the ceramics of Clazomenae were produced in Ionia and exported to all parts of the Hellenic world.

In these centuries something marvellous developed in Ionia, something great, which was alike a revolution: The explanation of the world and of the phenomena which encircled man, stripped of myths and mythology. In their explanation of the world history, geography and philosophy, in particular broke the bonds imposed by theology up to that time and based themselves on direct observation and logical reasoning.

The Ionian philosophers were encouraged by the astronomical and mathematical research of the Assyrians and Babylonians. They observed the phenomena of nature from a completely materialist standpoint, trying to derive the explanation of the world and its structure (cosmogony) outside the limits set by mythology. This was a colossal stride on the road of knowledge and scientific observation.

Some of the Ionian philosophers the author stresses, are:

Thales of Miletus. He left no written text. He considered water the first substantial beginning which is found in the origin of everything which exists. He says that above the earth lies the sky in hemispherical form, the discoidal space, while the earth itself floats on the surface of the water and seas.

Anaximander of Miletus. A disciple of Thales. The first philosopher who left a written work.

Anaximenes pointed out that the discoidal earth is not supported by the water which encircles it, but both the water and the earth are supported by the air. The sky loses the aspect of the dome.

These three Miletan philosophers did not form each separate philosophical schools as Aristotle, Plato and others did later. They were similar to one another in their reasoning and discussions, but were outstanding because they followed a revolutionary course and broke with the preceding philosophers and their mythological imaginings.

Xenophanes of Colophon lived in the 6th century before our era. He was a poet-theologian. He continued the philosophical speculations. He does not accept, but opposes any anthropomorphic vision of gods. He proposed a single, good, eternal, indestructible beginning which coexists with the world (the universe) and which he calls God.

For Xenophanes of Colophon organic life is born from a "mixture of the earth and the water".



Heraclitus of Ephesus lived in the first half of the 6th century before our era. With this philosopher the physicist thinking and encyclopaedic spirit disappear and are replaced with pure philosophical reasoning which insists on the mental capacities of man with intelligence as "the intuitive factor for human existence".

All that mankind inherited from the philosophy of Heraclitus of Ephesus is contained in a few fragments. This does not permit one to create a coherent view of his brilliant thinking and has become a source of many contradictory interpretations.

Pythagoras, an idealist philosopher and mathematician.

This great man of ancient Greece was born on the island of Samos in the Aegean Sea in the 6th century before our era. He emigrated to Croton of Magna Grecia where he died.

Empedocles has said about Pythagoras: "During his long life he summed up all the knowledge of ten or twenty human generations".

Pythagoras was the pupil of the Ionian philosopher, the Athenist Anaximander, and the mystic Pherecydes, the 6th century before our era.

The Pythagorean concept of the world withstood centuries and came down to our days. He was the first to use the word philosophia.

Dealing with the sphere of Pythagoras, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

Pythagoras thought that in the centre of the universe there is a great fire and he considered the earth a planet which rotates around this central body. He reached this conclusion through music, speaking about the "music of spheres".

Hence, the Ionian philosophy the author writes was materialist, in the sense that it was directed particularly towards seeking the original material beginning, from which the world and the universe was formed. For the Pythagoreans, this beginning lay in the proportions, the form, and the plane: *eidos et schema*, the relation and not the things in relation.

"Everything is material" and comes into life only when the disturbances arise through the transitions "from the substance to form", "from the structure to function", "from the atoms to continuity", "from the minute bodies to waves", etc.

Pythagoras gave a new meaning to orphism.

Pythagoras medicine and science had different concepts and different technical instructions irrespective of whether they formed one concept with the cult of Baccus, of Orpheus, of Apollo, and so on.

Plutarch says that the function of Pythagorean geometry separates us from the world of sense and that of decay, and introduces us to the world of the intellect and the eternal.

Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans in Croton and some other centers of Magna Grecia, lived and acted organized in closed mystical communities--Hetariai, which after the death of the "master" and the disclosure of the secret of "irrational numbers" by Hypasos, were broken up, persecuted and dispersed.

However, the true reason for the weakening and dispersal of these Pythagorean communities, which represented and defended the slave-owning aristocracy, lies in the class struggle which was waged at that time, in the triumph of the slave-owning democracy over the slave-owning aristocracy.

[30 July 1985]

[The friendship between the Albanians people and Greek people is also example for the relations between other Balkan peoples.]

[Text] Tirana, 30 Jul (ATA)--Comrade Enver Hoxha closes his book "Two Friendly Peoples" (excerpts from the Political Diary and other documents on the Albanian-Greek relations, 1941-1984) with a political panorama on the course of events during 1984. Through incontestible arguments it is stressed among others that the development of events has proved the Albanian people right and not their opponents and enemies and the claims about the "opening up", of Albanian towards the West are also refuted, etc.

--Our foreign policy, our stands, analysis and conclusions about various international events have completely justified themselves.

This is the second to last day of 1984 Comrade Enver Hoxha writes. For us 1984 was the year of the glorious jubilee, the 40th anniversary of the liberation of our homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution, a year of new victories in the construction of socialism, in increasing the prosperity of the people, in strengthening the defence and raising the authority of our country in the international arena.

In foreign policy, our country continued the line laid down at the 8th congress of our party: unrelenting and continuous struggle against imperialism, and first of all, against two imperialist superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, and their harmful policy towards other peoples, support for the Marxist-Leninist forces, progressive movements and the struggles of different peoples for national and social liberation, collaboration with neighbouring countries on the basis of mutual benefit, noninterference in one another's internal affairs and respect for national sovereignty. Likewise, also with the other countries which want to have good relations with our country. With the revisionist countries-cooperation in the field of commercial exchanges without any ideological and political concession or compromise.

Thanks to this correct policy of our country and the goodwill of the Greek Government, improvements have occurred in our relations with neighbouring

Greece, some agreements of mutual benefit, which I think, will open the way to the strengthening of relations and the ancient friendship between our two peoples, were concluded. Our relations with Italy proceeded somewhat better, although there are possibilities to do more in this direction. We have good relations with Turkey and likewise with some countries of Western Europe, with various Arab and African countries, etc.

During 1984, apart from the plots and the usual sabotage actions of the imperialist superpowers, we have had to withstand not only the attacks and the anti-Albanian acts of the great-Serb chauvinists, but also those of Greek reaction and mainly of Greek bishops and the northern-Epirote chauvinist circles, who have left no stone unturned to poison relations and hinder the rapprochement between Greece and our country. The pope of the Vatican, the Pole Wojtyla, has also taken part in the campaign of slanders and attacks against our country and people, and the building of socialism in Albania. It is not difficult to see in this a secret coordination with evil intentions between reactionary forces of great-Serb chauvinism, the Greek fascists and the centre of international obscurantism, the Vatican, but we are accustomed to these slanders, attacks and plots. We know them, have coped with them and smashed them mercilessly. And this is what will occur in the future, too.

Our foreign policy, our stands, analyses and conclusions about various international events have completely justified themselves. Life itself, the development of events round about us and throughout the world have proved us right and not our opponents and enemies.

--Our positive relations with Greece had great repercussions on international public opinion. We have always been for rapprochement and understanding with our neighbours.

But let me return to the positive developments which occurred in our relations with Greece, which had great repercussions on international public opinion.

I want to point out from the outset that what has been achieved, and of course, with goodwill, must be carried further with the revoking of the absurd law on the state of war with our country by the Greek Government, is a result of the consistent stand of our country based on the principles of our foreign policy for good neighbourly relations with all the countries around us, on the basis of mutual benefit, noninterference in one another's internal affairs and without ideological or political concessions. The bourgeois-revisionist propaganda usually sets up a clamour about the "opening-up" of Albania towards the West.

How greatly mistaken are those who are permanently wrong in connection with our decided and clear-cut policy. We have followed this policy which we are following today from the founding of our people's republic. We have always been for rapprochement and understanding with our neighbours. It is the others who have not shown understanding or have responded hesitantly to our policy of good neighbourly relations, thus, whenever the lofty interests of our homeland have required we have been in favour of such "opening

up" and we will remain in favour of it in the future, but we will not be for "integration", "the selling out of the freedom and assets of the homeland", or "links and alliances", with aggressive political-military groupings of either superpower.

There is propaganda that we have been obliged to undertake this "opening-up", because of our internal needs, to get over the difficulties which emerged for us after our "breaking away" from China and to acquire modern technology. Such allegations are fairy tales. First of all, it is not true that we "broke away" from China. No. It was the Chinese revisionist and capitalist leaders who undertook anti-Albanian actions and unilaterally breached the agreements on economic cooperation with our country and they did this because we tried to convince them that they were applying a counter-revolutionary foreign policy and sliding ever more deeply into reprehensible actions and alliances with American imperialism.

We did not begin to trade with other countries this year or last year, but we have done so since the time we founded our new state. This trade has been based on the principle of mutual benefit, I supply you--you supply me, without credits or debts continued with political concessions, excluding here the period when we thought that the Yugoslavs and Soviets, and later the Chinese, were our friends, and as internationalist and socialist countries had the duty to assist us, as the small country we were, and we accepted credits determined to repay them in full, which we did in fact, and today we have no debts to anyone. On the contrary, they are indebted to us, because with their actions they behaved like betrayers, revisionists of Marxism-Leninism, and sabotaged and damaged our economy. Their credits represented a very small percentage in the economic and financial potential of our country.

Now, as I said, they are bringing up the improvement of our relations with Greece as an example of our "opening-up" towards the West. We have always been in favour, indeed, we have sought and have waited patiently for the establishment of good neighbourly relations with that country, because such a thing is in the interests of our two peoples. Now, when the Yugoslav chauvinists, who are inveterate anti-Albanians, in unison with imperialism, international reaction and every other fascist force, are leaving no stone unthrown against socialist Albania. Leaving no plot unhatched in order to hinder our constructive work, we were obliged to and took the necessary defensive measures. We were not going to allow the Titoites to act as they liked with our rights, to try to isolate us, to sabotage us as they did even by holding up our trucks which were transporting goods to the markets of Western Europe, and so on. This would have been impermissible. So, in these circumstances we discussed and reached an agreement with the Italian Government on the establishment of the ferry line for the transport of our goods to the countries with which we have agreements, we talked and achieved positive results with the Greek Government about the signing of a number of agreements of mutual benefit, we decided on the opening of the border point of Kakavia, as a friendly gesture, etc. The lofty interests of our homeland called for these measures and we took them without permitting any concession

or making any compromise to the detriment of our ideology and policy and without any infringements or interference at all in the internal affairs of others.

During this year the Greek reactionary forces, the representatives of the orthodox church, the northern-Epirote reactionary circles and their supporters, the American imperialists, caused us worries. They exerted pressure, organized provocations, going so far as the blowing up of vehicles of our embassy in Athens and threatening demonstrations in front of it under the pretext that Greek minority in Albania were being badly treated, etc. At these grave moments, certain circles, including the Titoites, hoped that we would fall into the trap of reaction, that is, would break off diplomatic relations with that country. But we did not fall into this trap. We knew that such situations were temporary, that they expressed the confusion and defeat of reactionary anti-Albanian forces, both Greek and foreign. They were not and could not be the work of the friendly Greek people, together with whom we have fought more than once for the same aims. And we were not mistaken. After all this furious storm came the calm days when the Greek Government itself took the first steps for correct relations, for rapprochement and good neighbourliness. On this basis and in joint agreement these results which I mentioned above were achieved. All this was in the interests of the Greek people and in the interests of our people.

Positive for us is the fact that the Greek reactionary forces, the bishops, the most reactionary representatives of the northern-Epirote circles, and their supporters and backers in the USA were isolated, the honest and progressive Greeks rejoice. The Yugoslav Titoites, who encouraged and expected outbursts between Greece and Albania, were isolated and suffered fiasco, their propaganda in the international arena, "Albania is opposed to peace and represents the warmongering country in the Balkans", etc, suffered complete defeat.

Now the Greek press is writing that the slanders of reactionary circles about the mistreatment and lack of rights of the Greek minority in Albania are without foundation, and that the Greek minority in our country lives in normal conditions, enjoys all constitutional rights, is happy, etc.

--We do not consult anybody about what we do or what we intend to do in the interests of our country and our socialist homeland.

Neither do we forget the lessons of the bitter history of our country. More than once in the past the bourgeoisie, the reactionary chauvinist and fascist groupings of neighbouring countries have collaborated for the partitioning of Albania in spheres of influence and have clashed when one of them has attempted to violate "the joint secret agreement about Albania". Although many years have passed since that time and Albania is no longer what it was and does not allow anyone to "interest himself" in its fate, the policy of these reactionary circles towards socialist Albania has not undergone any great alteration.

We also notice that our policy of good neighbourly relations with mutual benefit towards this or that country arouses jealousy and anger in this bourgeoisie and these reactionary circles, as though Albania were their "domain". The Yugoslav chauvinists are displaying such astonishing jealousy and anger over the further improvement of our relations with Greece and Italy and the strengthening of our relations with a number of European countries, the countries of the Arab world, and so on.

Why is this surprising to them? This is their own affair. Why are they disturbed? We have not consulted, do not consult and never will consult Belgrade or any other capital for that matter, about what we do or what we intended to do in the interests of our country and our socialist homeland.

Once again they are nurturing and propagating vain hopes, as they did when we put the Khrushchevites and the Chinese revisionists in their place, that the day has come for "someone else" to plant his feet in Albania, for Albania to fall under the control and influence of the Americans or the Soviets, the French, the British or the Germans, not through force, but through "kindly" offers "on favourable terms" to assist us to "progress", to enable us to "correct" and "modernize" our industry and economy, and so on and so forth. We have no need for that kind of "modernization" about which Tito and the Yugoslav Titoites boasted so loudly, for that which the Chinese revisionists talk about now, or the bourgeoisie and other other revisionists suggest, modernization through credits, through strangling debts accompanied with humiliating and enslaving conditions. We will never place such chains around the necks of our people. Today we have built up and advanced an economy capable of marching ahead with its own forces, hence, capable of being modernized and equipped with advanced technology from its own income secured from its own goods of high quality which are required all over the world.

--No one will ever gain the right to have bases or military concentrations on Albanian territory.

The question of Albania and its future is discussed also among the leading circles of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. Both of these groups, time after time urge this or that country to offer us "sincere aid" to emerge from the difficult situation. They are pitying the rider because his legs hang down.

We tell all short-sighted dreamers bluntly that neither one nor the other, neither the Soviet social-imperialists nor the American imperialists, or any one else can ever again plant their feet on Albanian territory, will ever again gain the right to have bases or military concentrations here. We have our experience with foreign military bases. For as long as the Soviet military base in our country, established in the framework of the erstwhile socialist camps, had purposes of defence, we accepted it, but when Khrushchevite revisionism bared its aggressive imperialist teeth we denounced it and got rid of it. In this case we performed our internationalist

duty. It behooves the neighbouring peoples to act against the foreign military bases which they have on their territories and which are directed against neighbouring peoples and countries, otherwise they themselves face great dangers.

Their direct and indirect pressures, as well as those which they exert on us through their tools, whoever they may be, no longer have any effect. We are afraid of no one, we are a threat to no one, and likewise, we allow no one to threaten us, but we have demanded our rights, will go on demanding them and will defend them to the end. Those who brought us death and devastation during the Second World War, who caused us material damage, must answer for this materially. Those who are keeping our stolen gold must return it to us. The enemies of socialist Albania and its ancient, heroic and indomitable people are wearying themselves in vain waiting for such an "opening up" which would lead to our falling into their clutches.

--Albania has chosen its own course and nothing, no force can turn it from this course.

We shall forge ahead. We have achieved our victories which have become the basis for our further advance with our own forces, with our own assets, with the sweat and knowledge of our own sons and daughters. And this is how we will advance in the future, too, because today we are stronger and have more experience than in the past, we are always on the up and up, we have our glorious party, which leads us with Marxist-Leninist wisdom and determination, we have our working class, a sound intelligentsia, a healthy, revolutionary youth, we have a marvellous people. Full of optimism, we are preparing the 8th Five-Year Plan of our economic and cultural development which, precisely because of the conditions in which we live and work, is based entirely on our internal material, financial and human resources. Albania has chosen its own course and nothing, no force, neither the blandishments and promises, nor the pressures and plots of superpowers and their allies and vassals can turn it from this course...(End).

CSO: 2020/184

BULGARIA

PAPER OPENS PUBLIC DEBATE ON DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Jul 85 pp 1, 3

[Editorial, with letters: "Arguments Against the 'Arguments'"]

[Text] The 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], the National Party Conference, and the February Plenum of the Central Committee [CC] of the BCP (1985) set the task of carrying out the scientific-technical revolution as the basis for rapid construction of a mature socialist society here. An important condition for mobilizing all the factors and efforts to attain this lofty goal is the consistent and full application of the principle of democratic centralism.

In this way, profound qualitative changes in the organization and style of work everywhere and at all levels will take place more rapidly and with high quality; interest in the work will be strengthened, and thus the activity and contribution of each workers' collective and each worker as an owner of socialist property will be increased, aiding the realization of party policies in the management of the state and of production.

With a view toward this aim, we open public debate on the topic "Democratic Centralism." By utilizing different forms and genres, by attracting the attention of party, state, economic and social activists, specialists, journalists and a wide circle of readers, we will contribute to the full and consistent application of democratic centralism in party activity and leadership, in state management, the economy, science, culture, and social organizations.

And so, dear readers, we await your letters.

In the preparation for and conduct of meetings, conferences, and plenums, conventions and sessions, we see strong manifestations of both the essence and activity of democratic centralism as well as the negative influence of every deviation from this principle, which is the cornerstone of the socialist order in our lives.

The participation of communists, of every worker in the discussion, resolution, and fulfillment of given tasks and problems, in the preparation of a document or individual resolution, can be seen on a broader scale and with greater democracy.



A number of positive changes have come about, the change in this area has been great, especially during the past few years. At the same time we see cases when either all the necessary conditions for the complete manifestation of democratic centralism are not created or, more and more rarely, and consciously or not, its activity is limited.

Some of these problems were raised in a dialog, carried out through correspondence, with our reader Kol'o Stoykov Kolev.

[First letter to the editors of RABOTNICHESKO DELO, letter shortened, without changing the contents or the tone of the letter]

In my Opinion, This Should Not Go On

"Since people now are talking a lot about the style of work and leadership, about the need for reorganizing it, I remembered how, about two or three years ago, the okrug committee of the BCP in Gaborovo held a meeting with the secretaries of the leading party organizations from the okrug. In the conversation that was held, people touched on the question of scripts and staging in preparation for the party forum. For the fun of it, this tendency was repeated immediately after the discussion. At the dialog with the party secretaries, everyone who expressed himself had been prepared and rehearsed in advance. But the question of "open discussion" of problems concerning party life came up. When one of those present noted that there was widespread use of the method of "scenarios" and staging, the head secretary of the okrug committee of the BCP said angrily that there were no scripts, only that certain comrades has been invited in advance to take part.

"From my personal observations, I can point out that even now only to a certain extent in the lives of leading organizations is the method of preparatory determination of who will speak not applied. From here on up (these are at least the impressions from my okrug), a party forum cannot take place without a script, regulating who will take part in the discussions.

"The most varied arguments exist for justifying this phenomenon in our practice. It turned out to be necessary to determine in advance which comrades would speak, so that the plenums, conferences, etc. would not become "gabfests," where a lot of questions would be raised and repeated, and others would not be touched on. In addition, without diligence and time limits on discussion, they would become quite prolonged.

"And as far as written statements are concerned, they were necessary for a smoother and more logical presentation (Perhaps also for easier checking or even so that another person could write it?!).

"It is true that there is logic in the arguments just mentioned, but another truth is also hiding behind them. The fear of not having enough participants in the discussions forces the leading cadres to take preparatory measures, because indifference is growing.

"The question of internal party democracy and democracy generally in our society has been well explained theoretically. But in practice many violations are permitted, and these quietly undermine it.

"Evaluations are often made of the level of the given forum according to its external aspect, its form, but not its content. This makes it easier for those evaluating and those evaluated. But this practice contradicts our party principles."

[Second letter: To Kol'ov St. Kolev]

#### How Should Things Proceed?

Since in most cases, we see the shortcomings and the negative phenomena, we have learned to criticize them well, but rarely after condemning do we seek a way out and a resolution, thus we sent our reader a letter with the following request:

"Thank you for the letter. You raise important and topical questions in it and they are of general interest. We ask you to continue sharing your thoughts, recommendations, and suggestions, as necessary, in order to maintain the principles and norms of internal party and socialist democracy, in order to affirm a qualitatively new style of leadership and activity. It would be good to follow A with B, as we establish those things which are out of order and renounce them. Not only should we say "This should not go on," we should also seek an alternative, a resolution, "How things should proceed." We hope that we receive your response soon . . ." Etc., etc.

And indeed, we received it . . .

[Third letter: To the editors of RABOTNICHESKO DELO (again with deletions, which do not affect the contents or tone of the letter)]

#### Not Only In Words

"My profession is machine engineer. In the past I reached the positions of a direction, and member of the communal committee of the BCP, but I declined the offer to be a director. Up to now no punishments have been given to me. I have received awards, including ones from the government, but they are not important here.

"You ask my opinion in various matters, and I will tell you. Leaders share the fundamental blame for the violations of style and methods, for the widespread presence of an administrative style in party work. It is logical for every person to work so that he can please his supervisor, because a good leader does not rule, he maintains principles and norms. I have attended many conferences, plenums and meetings which were models of staging, of preparation and conduct according to scripts, but they got good marks from the representatives of higher organs who were present. For example, at one reporting and selection conference of the communal party organization in

Tryavna, everyone who spoke had been determined and prepared in advance, and their statements were printed. There is nothing necessarily wrong with this. But after all these comrades has spoken their piece, the chairman of the conference announced: 'Comrades, four others have signaled their intention to speak, but I propose that we stop the presentations here, since all the basic questions have already been raised. Those comrades who wished to speak can present their notes to the secretary, who will keep them in mind.' But according to the agenda adopted, there remained another hour for statements. The suggestion was accepted unanimously, just as the time limit had been adopted unanimously. Afterward I understood that these four comrades had not been included in the scenario. In line with these questions and some others connected with the conduct of the conference, a letter to the editors of RABOTNICHESKO DELO was prepared, but after that I read in the okrug newspaper, BALKANSKO ZNAME, an evaluation of the conference's work, which was of course quite good. And thus I refused to send the material. I could point out other examples of this same type.

"How then could we stop the harmful practice of scenarios and staging? First, realistically, and not just with words, criticism from the grass roots should be taken into account, from the rank and file communists and workers, not only from the highly placed party organs and representatives. It is important that the evaluations come not only from above, but also from the party or workers' collective, from the society. The struggle against violations of the principle of democratic centralism, against the application of the administrative-bureaucratic approach must begin at all levels, not only in our thoughts, but also by acting in an innovative, revolutionary way.

"I have turned to you since to a certain extent there is evidence of your aspiration to overcome a number of negative phenomena. But I must tell you frankly: it seems to me that you are afraid of a more decisive battle. But a battle is necessary, because people are forming the impression that they cannot make progress if they are principled, hard-working, honest and frank. The hint that communists do not always offer a good personal example is not that rare."

[Fourth letter: To the Readers]

And What do You Think?

Dear readers, it is evident that Kol'o Stoykov has raised many important topical questions about the application and operation of democratic centralism as the basis of reorganizaing the style of work and leadership, as the lever of social development.

Of course one should not take his condemnations and evaluations as axiomatic or as an evaluation of party organizations and leadership, of social practice. But we will agree with him that it is truly unnatural and peculiar for party style to limit in one way or another the opinions of communists and non-party members, the possibility for everyone to express his attitude in regard to problems being discussed. Thus should we seek the reasons for using scenarios or the way in which they are used? The problem is: should certain communists

be invited, including the most experienced ones, those best prepared, to make statements, or should the same people, primarily the management cadres, who seek to praise their own work and criticize it as little as possible, by skirting sensitive problems, be invited? Or on the contrary should the floor not be given to an uninvited orator, who might say something unpleasant, or that somewhere conditions should not be created for hearing the opinion of everyone, without exception, in the discussion of important problems, so that everything can be studied systematically and in a mass fashion? How should we act? In addition to meetings and conferences, conversations, questionnaires, including people in assisting and working organs, applying developments to problems, etc., which permit everyone to participate freely and democratically in all phases of work of the party, state, social, and economic organ, in the management of the workers' collective and society. Because without the experience, wisdom, and contribution of millions of workers, it would be impossible to resolve the historical problems of building mature socialism. Generally speaking, we must reorganize our style, so that with small expense of time and labor, we can obtain a maximal political, educational, and economic effect.

We put to our readers an extremely important and topical question in regard to scenarios and staging, in regard to people's opinions, but this is just one of a multitude of problems about the application and operation of democratic centralism, which await collective discussion and a collective response.

And so, we await your opinions, recommendations, and suggestions, dear readers.

12334

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ROMANIA

VIEWS OF PARTY ON REVOLUTION, SOCIALISM

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 11, 10 Jun 85 pp 27-31

[Article by Pamfil Nichitelea on consistent promotion of the RCP's revolutionary conception of the world and life, firm opposition to instances of backwardness and regression, encouragement of the new, and reinforcement of the sense of responsibility, discipline and order as regular duties of the party organs and organizations, the communists and all workers]

[Text] An extensive ideological and political-educational effort to form and develop the workers' socialist awareness in the spirit of the revolutionary conception of the world and life is a constant concern of the RCP and its general secretary, Nicolae Ceausescu. This is an objectively necessary effort because the process of socialist construction is essentially a purposefully creative undertaking of the masses under the RCP's leadership. It is a fundamental truth that the new order cannot be constructed without promotion of a new and revolutionary way of thinking, working and living or without all-around development of the personality as a fully knowledgeable creator of its own future. The results of socialist construction in Romania show that the party's in-depth study and determination of the social facts and national realities, its political policy based on creative application of dialectical and historical materialism and the principles of scientific socialism, and its consistent promotion of the revolutionary conception of the world and life are playing an active and stimulating role in social development, as a component of the policy of building the new order and advancing toward communism.

The Ninth Party Congress is exceptionally significant in this respect, as an event of historical importance to the RCP's ideological-educational work as well as its activity as a whole and to the life of the Romanian nation, permitting widespread assertion of a powerful innovating spirit in Romanian society, spurring active, revolutionary thinking, and establishing an ebullient climate favorable to productive work in all fields and to Romania's steady advance on the path of socialism and communism.

The innovating policy inaugurated by the Ninth Party Congress and all the great progress made in the last 20 years are inseparable from the name and brilliant

work of Nicolae Ceausescu, who has been leading the revolutionary party, the nation and the people wisely and firmly on the path of socialism, communism, prosperity and peace. The bold thought, scientific spirit, revolutionary steadfastness, intolerance of any instances of routine work and isolation, constant receptiveness to the new and all that is advanced, and consistent effort to keep comparing theory with practice are characteristic of the party general secretary's entire activity, and they have been exerting a telling influence upon all aspects of socioeconomic activity and have powerfully stimulated political-ideological and cultural-educational work.

The improvement in political-ideological work was graphically reflected in the RCP Ideological Program, the main features of which (fully formulated and determined in the Speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982, in the Report to the National Party Conference in December 1982, in the Speech at the Mangalia Working Conference in August 1983, and in other speeches of the party general secretary's) were assembled and correlated in a unified conception creatively developed in the documents of the 13th Party Congress. Approved by the high forum of Romanian communists in November 1984 as an integral part of the RCP Program for Construction of the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism, the Ideological Program opens up broad prospects for all theoretical-ideological and political-educational work, concentrating it on the main problems of socialist construction in the present stage. It is intended to exert a growing influence upon the thought, life and work of the communists and all workers by contributing its policies, ideas and theories to more and more effective promotion of the advanced conception of the world and life and to the development of the revolutionary militant spirit and socialist awareness.

#### Objective Factors for Development of Ideological Work

The party's extensive and productive political-ideological work is strikingly reflected in the great progress made by the Romanian people in national development and in the purposeful and increasingly widespread participation of all workers regardless of nationality and of the entire people in implementing the party's and state's domestic and foreign policies. As it says in the Decision on the 20th Anniversary of the Ninth RCP Congress, approved at the recent session of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, "The Romanian people under the tried leadership of the party and its secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu have traveled a glorious path and accomplished a vast constructive work of radical reform of all society, securing the development and modernization of socialist agriculture and industry, increasingly intensive development of science, art and culture, continuing improvement of the workers' material and cultural living standard, and the greater role and prestige of Romania in international affairs."

The creative efforts of the workers and the notable progress made in the work of building the new order demonstrate once again the strength of the RCP and the importance of its ideological and political-educational work, which is becoming an essential means to construction of the fully developed socialist society. The party regards the accomplishment of this vital strategic objective of the present stage as an all-inclusive process involving qualitative changes in all activities and improvement of all the objective and subjective and material and cultural social factors in a close dialectical unity and interaction.

Both theoretically and practically, the basic aims of building the fully developed socialist society and of the advance toward communism include simultaneous and uniform accomplishment of the objectives for intensive development of the productive forces, further improvement of social and production relations, revolutionary socialist democracy, and the entire Romanian political system, development of education, science and culture, and formation of the new man as a purposeful builder of the new order. The RCP proceeds from the fact that under socialism people are no longer objects of the blind action of the objective social laws but by using them purposefully they act in accordance with them and direct them toward the development and revolutionary reform of society. Moreover the party realizes that the new stage of Romanian society's development is progressing in a world beset with very far-reaching problems among increasingly interdependent states and fierce international ideological confrontations.

All this requires dynamic and aggressive political-ideological work that will contribute to further improvement of the workers' awareness, thought and knowledge and to clarification of the problems of Romanian socialist society's development and of the international phenomena in the spirit of the RCP's conception and policy. As Nicolae Ceausescu has pointed out, "More emphasis must be placed on ideological indoctrination of the masses and extensive discussion of the general problems in order to answer people's concerns, to arm all Romanian citizens with the latest advances of science and human knowledge, and to make them active militants for the revolutionary conception of the world and life."

In pointing out that every social system has its mode of thought and its social awareness, the party general secretary said in his Speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982 that conditions are being created in the socialist order for the formation of a unified conception of the world and life, and also that this process is not to be interpreted in the narrow sense of uniformization but in that of constant enrichment of the revolutionary conception with all the gains of contemporary knowledge and social practice.

It is to the RCP's credit that it spurred the effort in this direction with a realistic-creative approach to the relationship between social existence and awareness based on the principles of dialectical and historical materialism. The RCP made no fetish of the theory of the lag in awareness but, rejecting spontaneism, passiveness, and the waiting attitude, it has been working on the material and cultural conditions alike in order to form the new socialist revolutionary awareness. Since the social awareness reflects the real values and requirements of the new society's development, it naturally stimulates that development and becomes a motive force for social progress, while Romanian socialist society in full course of its multilateral development makes it possible to bring the social awareness up to increasingly high levels. This process does not take place apart from social activity as a whole, from the conflict between the new and the old, or from the constant opposition to ideas and moral weaknesses of the old society. Nicolae Ceausescu said on this subject in his Report to the 13th Party Congress that "We must not for a moment forget that various foreign ideas and attitudes of the old bourgeois-landowner society still persist, that not all citizens have permanently broken with the attitudes and practices of the past, and that unfortunately the latter are even influencing some youths."

There are many reasons for these negative phenomena, namely the remnants of the old society, which are more persistent in this field than in any other because

private ownership with its characteristic incentives has been the historical background of morality for centuries and has left its traces in people's awareness; the complex nature of awareness, which does not develop the same way or at the same rate in all its aspects; the formation of awareness in various individuals, not all of whom are equally receptive to the new standards and values of behavior; the heterogeneity of the social structure; and the facts that Romanian society cannot be sheltered from outside influences, that socialist social existence itself encounters various contradictions, that it must be viewed in its evolution as a process the success of which requires constant improvement of the various social activities for purposes of full application of the socialist principles, etc.

Eliminating the negative phenomena and forming the advanced socialist awareness are comprehensive tasks requiring political-educational work intensified and enhanced both by continuing improvement of socioeconomic activity and by consistent promotion of the dialectical-materialist revolutionary conception, both activities making social progress a complete and uniform whole. This makes greater demands upon party education, schools of all levels, the press, radio and TV, and the literary-artistic output, which are called upon to lend a militant revolutionary content to all educational activity, to promote the RCP's higher conception of the world and life, and to combat, from scientific positions, backward attitudes and the influences of the old society and of the foreign circles and forces hostile to socialism.

The significance of socialist indoctrination as a means of consistent promotion of the revolutionary conception of the world and life and its aggressive, militant spirit is closely related to the continuity of the revolutionary process in the present stage of Romanian society's development. As the RCP and its general secretary say, the revolution and the process of revolutionary social reform are not over once political power is seized. Acquisition of political power is a vital factor, but it is only one stage in the struggle for socialist and communist society. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the 13th Party Congress, "The revolutionary process will go on in communist society too. Actually, it will never be finished." This makes it necessary to keep the innovating, militant spirit of theoretical and ideological work alive and to keep improving the whole effort toward socialist education of the masses and improvement of their socialist awareness. If this requirement is to be met, a new quality must also be achieved in mass ideological and political-educational work, and this requirement must be emphasized by all the media at society's disposal in order to transform, under party leadership, educational work into a powerful force for rallying the workers to the task of the nation's all-around development and prosperity.

The RCP bases its entire effort to form the new man with an advanced socialist awareness squarely upon the dialectical-materialist revolutionary conception and scientific socialism. But the RCP's creative, innovating approach to the theory and practice of building the new order, as well as its interpretation of the revolutionary conception of the world and life as a living science in constant evolution and enrichment, must also be noted. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his Report to the 13th Party Congress, "We must develop and keep improving our revolutionary conception of the world and life and our ideological activity. What we have already accomplished and what we know today are the foundations for a new knowledge and a new development of the theory and the conception of the world and life."



Accordingly it is becoming increasingly important in educational work to develop people's revolutionary thinking and to arm them with the far-reaching conclusions of the party's theoretical work, embodying active, enterprising thought opposed to any isolation, intolerant of backward ideology, and indicative of creative application of the principles of scientific socialism to the particular conditions in Romania and the contemporary world. The RCP's theories are based upon a thorough mastery of revolutionary dialectics and the truths of dialectical and historical materialism, upon penetrating interpretation of the objective requirements of social development, and upon constant receptiveness to new developments and problems. All this lends the party's creative theoretical and political thought a distinctive note of originality, generalizing power and social effectiveness that is stimulating and opening up new prospects for its entire ideological and socialist educational activity.

#### Promotion of the Creative Spirit in Theory and Practice

The years since the Ninth RCP Congress are especially notable for an intensive ferment of theoretical thought and a frank and courageous treatment and scrutiny of the social realities and the problems of socialist construction and the contemporary world. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "The RCP's progress, especially since the Ninth RCP Congress, is directly due to its definite break with the old dogmatic and rigid ideas, its firm stand against all that no longer suits the new socioeconomic conditions, and its bold promotion of the new in all activities."

Bearing the stamp of the party general secretary's strong personality and profoundly dialectical scientific thinking, the Report to the 13th Party Congress gives new expression to the RCP's creative approach to the vital problems of building the new order and of international affairs as well, and to its active contribution to the enrichment of the legacy of revolutionary theory and practice.

The entire political and ideological activity of the RCP and Nicolae Ceausescu is characterized by the effort to determine in depth the general laws of social development and the relationship between the action of those laws and the particular social, economic, political, cultural, historical and national conditions differing from one country to another and from one stage to another. Thanks to this consistently revolutionary approach, the party general secretary has scientifically clarified the stages of Romania's socioeconomic development and set construction of the fully developed socialist society as the main goal of the present historical stage. That is a priceless contribution to development of the theory of the dialectics of the evolution of socialist society, since the concept of the fully developed socialist society sums up not only an original and creative conception of the process of socialist construction but also the strategy of a whole historical period, a strategy of social knowledge and of the effort to interpret as accurately as possible the content and direction of the developmental phenomena and trends of the various sectors of society.

Accordingly the Report to the 13th Party Congress set new policies and courses of action in order to intensify ideological investigation of the changes in Romanian society, the questions of its further improvement, and the prospects of mankind's development as well, in order to gain the best possible understanding of the general developmental laws for purposes of applying them creatively to

the particular Romanian conditions. The party general secretary specially emphasized the need of thorough study of the socialist production method, of the interdependence and developmental prospects of state and cooperative socialist ownership, and of the new problems arising in the system of distribution and labor and in the application of the principles of socialist ethics and justice. Meanwhile ideological work and research in the social sciences must be concentrated on study and development of the methods of gradual transition to application of the communist principles of work, life and distribution.

The RCP's judgments and conclusions concerning the dialectics of socialist social development are also highly significant in their content. With notable determination, Nicolae Ceausescu rejected the isolated conceptions of the content and direction of the historical change in socialism, conceptions which long denied the existence of contradictions, which is the reason for social change and development, simplified and idealized the true image of the new order, and overlooked or underrated the contradictory nature of the process of social development. The party general secretary deserves great credit for pointing out the necessity of proceeding from the facts themselves instead of "denying or underrating the existence of contradictions," because "The occurrence of contradictions and the conflict between them are laws of social development in socialism too," and those contradictions demand thorough study and knowledge if purposeful action is to be taken to resolve them.

Moreover the points the RCP has made in the last 20 years especially, concerning the growth of party leadership in the effort to build the fully developed socialist society, the evolution of the nature and functions of the Romanian socialist state, the inherent relationship between socialism and democracy, etc. are particularly important to the content and evolution of Marxist political thought and to development of the revolutionary conception of the world and life. Because of the creative way in which they have been treated, always allowing for the particular historical conditions, these considerations have facilitated and stimulated social-political practice and permitted an increasingly active commitment of all of the nation's creative energies.

The historical place and role of the nation in the present period, the new features of the socialist nation, and the present content of the ideas of patriotism and international solidarity are also major theoretical contributions of the RCP and its general secretary. In the RCP's view the development of contemporary society proves that the nation as a general social-historical category is still entirely valid and that so far from being "obsolete" it is proving to be a powerful motive force for progress and socialist and communist construction. In the spirit of this conception, the RCP has made a noteworthy contribution to the application of the general principles of scientific socialism for solving the minorities problem to the particular characteristics of Romania as a unified national state wherein other nationalities live and work together with the Romanian people.

Nicolae Ceausescu's works are a notable contribution to the analysis of the general phenomena and processes characteristic of our period and of the factors affecting mankind's development. They emphatically point out the necessity of freeing international affairs from the old relations of force, domination and oppression that have been seriously injuring the peoples' interests and of forming new relations based on equity and every people's right to self-determination

and collaboration in peace and good will with other peoples under a new international economic and political order.

The theoretical thought of the RCP and Nicolae Ceausescu is an invaluable guide to the effort to build the great structure of the fully developed socialist society and an inexhaustible source of inspiration to philosophical thought and the social and political sciences in Romania and to the entire effort to develop revolutionary socialist awareness. It provides scientific answers to the complex problems facing Romanian society in the present stage, it defines objectives, tasks and specific courses of action, and it aids understanding of the phenomena and processes of the world of today.

Study and knowledge of the ideas and theories advanced by the RCP are major means to political-ideological improvement of the communists and all workers and to development of their socialist awareness. Hence the requirement, vital in the present stage, for socialist educational work to make mastery of the party's revolutionary conception an effective way to keep improving people's thinking and to develop their ability to understand the new and to act in the spirit of revolutionary reform. In this connection, the effectiveness of educational work heavily depends upon the best possible use of the wealth of ideas in the party documents and the ability to bring out the new theories, the problems that must be solved in the present stage of Romanian society's development, and the RCP's contribution to the enrichment of contemporary revolutionary thought.

#### Main Ways of Promoting the Scientific Revolutionary Conception

The higher standards for the effort to raise the political-ideological level of the masses are closely related to the responsible, militant spirit in which the party organizations, the mass and public organizations and all cultural-educational institutions must operate. Therefore the RCP Ideological Program and the documents of the 13th Party Congress have instituted a series of policies and measures to heighten the sense of responsibility of all educational elements.

In the RCP's view consistent promotion of the revolutionary conception of the world and life with emphasis upon its militant, aggressive character will not only provide a knowledge of the world and life but will also arm the entire party, its militants, all party members and the workers with the knowledge needed for the purposeful effort to reform society. The efforts of the party organs and organizations to lead the workers to study and master the revolutionary philosophy and ideology and scientific socialism are highly important for this purpose. As it was pointed out in the Report to the 13th Party Congress, all political-educational work must provide for study of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, the basic works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and other contemporary theoretical works as well. The RCP regards this activity as development of the ability of the communists and all workers to grasp and evaluate the surrounding realities in the light of dialectical and historical materialism. The advanced ideas and the dialectical-materialist method are valuable not as a sum of established disciplines laid down once and for all but as a guide to action and a means to development of new disciplines and critical assimilation of human culture. To this end, according to the RCP Ideological Program, political-educational work should be receptive to all that is new in the social facts and practice and in science, ideology and culture. It should make its active, aggressive presence

felt in the great ideological confrontations of our period, it should make the RCP's creative contribution to clarification of the contemporary world's problems better known, and it should assert the militant spirit of revolutionary ideology in the dialogue with other schools of thought.

Of course such a dialogue certainly does not mean concessions to or tolerance of bourgeois ideology. On the contrary, it requires a firm and uncompromising stand against foreign ideology, antisocialist and anticommunist propaganda, and any backward ideas. As the documents of the 13th Party Congress point out, intensive training in dialectical-materialist philosophy must maintain the active opposition to any influences of foreign ideology and any idealist, mystic, reactionary, nationalist or chauvinist ideas and help to form advanced, progressive convictions about life and society. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "Those manifestations belong to the past, to the capitalist, imperialist period, and to the society divided into antagonistic classes that has always served to divide and embroil people of different nationalities, and in Romanian society they must disappear forever."

Since the persistence of some backward ideas in people's thinking restricts their creative progress in society, the party general secretary also points out the need of intensified socialist education of the masses and of their indoctrination in the spirit of militant atheism and the scientific conception of the world and life and of matter, the universe and society. If the new man is to be fully effective as an active militant for revolutionary world reform, his awareness must be freed of the blemishes of ignorance, superstitions, and mystic and obscurantist prejudices. The anachronistic nature of any mystic attitudes or prejudices is particularly conspicuous today, when human knowledge is in a state of constant and rapid development in the new stage of the technical-scientific revolution. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his Report to the 13th Party Congress, "That is why we must keep working for understanding and knowledge of newer and newer secrets of nature and the universe and for scrutiny of the general laws of social development and human progress, and we must base the entire effort of socialist and communist construction in Romania upon them."

Accordingly improvement of knowledge and scientific and professional training is increasingly important in forming the new man and developing his revolutionary conception. This applies primarily to training for work. Improved occupational training of all workers, their mastery of the disciplines, experience and skills needed to acquire trades, and assimilation of the technical and scientific innovations required by modern production means and by the organization and performance of production and social activities are basic considerations in Romanian society. As the documents of the 13th Party Congress point out, improvement of occupational and technical training on the basis of the latest scientific advances is essential to socioeconomic development, successful construction of the fully developed socialist society, and the start of communist construction in Romania.

Of course emphasizing the importance of scientific, technical and professional training in no way means underrating the other components of the many-sided nature of the new man. On the contrary, his education urgently requires improvement of political-ideological training as well as a higher cultural and scientific standard and mastery of the revolutionary conception of the world and life. Those two aspects, occupational and technical training and ideological, scientific and cultural training, are closely bound up together and in combination they

are vital to efficient social activity and social progress. Hence the need of improving party education and eliminating any narrow professionalism, while the party schools and party organs and organizations must emphasize development of the revolutionary spirit and mastery of the scientific conception of the world and life in order to train professional revolutionaries. Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the Mangalia Working Conference that "Any communist must thoroughly master the most advanced technical-scientific and professional disciplines in all fields. But he must also have an additional quality, namely readiness to perform any party assignment in any field and to be a professional revolutionary."

In the party's view, to be a revolutionary means to be an explorer of the new path opened up by socialism and communism. It means to be intolerant of any defects, to take firm action against all that is outmoded, and to boldly promote all that is advanced and progressive. The party organs and organizations and all elements with ideological and cultural-educational responsibilities are called upon to help promote those advanced traits and to firmly oppose the negative, anachronistic aspects of society and some people's behavior and any backward manifestations. The RCP documents point out that political-ideological and educational work emphatically promote bold thinking based on the masses' experience and intolerance of inertia, indiscipline, routine, conservatism, and all that retards the progress of Romanian society.

The extensive goals set by the 13th Party Congress demand increasingly regular educational efforts to encourage in every way the traits of advanced revolutionary awareness, namely the cult of labor, development and protection of socialist property, consolidation of order and discipline, observance of laws and party and state decisions, diligence, honesty, courage, modesty and the cooperative spirit. The new man with a high revolutionary awareness is also a man indoctrinated in the spirit of love of country and party, in that of responsibility and dedication to the people and their revolutionary gains, and in that of determination to fight and work for socialist and communist construction and in defense of Romania's sovereignty and independence. Moreover, in the spirit of the party's revolutionary traditions, the sense of solidarity and friendship with the peoples of the socialist countries, with those of the developing countries, with the advanced forces everywhere, and with all peoples who love peace, progress and collaboration must be cultivated in men's awareness. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "We must always dialectically combine education and development of socialist patriotism with the spirit of international solidarity and friendship in the struggle for socioeconomic progress and for collaboration and peace in the world!"

The RCP does not regard ideological and political-educational work as an end in itself but as a part of its general strategic policy for purposes of rallying the entire people's energies to the effort to carry out the RCP Program for Construction of the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism. Accordingly the criteria for judging this activity's effectiveness have been and will always be the extent of participation in the task of construction and the purposeful commitment and active contribution to accomplishment of the goals and tasks set by the party.

Of course the results in production are one of the main criteria for evaluating the quality and efficacy of educational work. This means that political-

educational work must always be specifically aimed at the tasks of every unit, the requirements for exemplary fulfillment of plan tasks and for export production meeting the present demands, and the requirements for improved product quality, greater effectiveness and productivity, better use of the raw material, material, fuel and energy resources, consistent application of the new economic-financial mechanism, and strengthened workers self-management. By its various ways and means, ideological and political-educational work must further emphasize the specific problems of physical production, net production, profits and reduced consumption of raw materials, materials, fuels and energy, according to the conditions in each work place, as well as further modernization of production and manufacturing technologies, professional training of the labor force, strengthened order, discipline and sense of responsibility, and development of every worker's creative power. More emphasis must also be placed on encouragement of workers' initiatives, generalization of advanced experience, and organization of discussions and exchanges of experience, which will help to find new solutions and courses of action for exemplary fulfillment of the socioeconomic tasks.

The increasingly high standard of political and ideological training of the workers and their advanced revolutionary awareness is graphically reflected in their unfailing dedication to the party policy and in the entire people's unity of will and action around the party and its general secretary. The effectiveness of political-educational work as a whole and development of the workers' socialist awareness are also reflected in fulfillment of the tasks set by the party in all activities, in the sense of order and discipline, and in the consistent effort to carry out the decisions of the 13th Party Congress on the start of a new and higher stage of the RCP Program for Construction of the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism.

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## ROMANIA

## PARTY'S ROLE IN RESOLVING NATIONAL MINORITY PROBLEM

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 13, 10 Jul 85 pp 21-24

/Article by Dr Eduard Eisenburger: "Solution of the Minorities Problem. A Great Victory of Party Policy"/

/Text/ Nicolae Ceausescu said, "In Romania we have solved the minorities problem forever on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist conception and the principles of scientific socialism, guaranteeing all Romanian citizens fully equal rights."

We are looking at the country in the light of the coming jubilee. It is a proud country, enriched in the last 20 years with matchless beauties and embellished with many institutions worthy of our period, such as the great industrial citadels, imposing institutions of learning, scientific research and culture, and modern agricultural units. A close look also reveals another kind of institutions that take no physical form properly speaking but truly enrich our daily lives and have a symbolic significance for the years of socialism. Chief among these we should mention the revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist solution of the minorities problem, the establishment of fully equal rights for all Romania's sons regardless of nationality, and the achievement of the entire people's unshakable unity around the party and its general secretary Nicolae Ceausescu.

The minorities problem was solved in a thoroughly democratic and revolutionary way, especially in the years following the Ninth Party Congress, when it was considered in all its aspects, economic, social, political and cultural, and it benefited by the great innovations that were made in the main areas of socialist construction.

#### A Uniform Scientific Conception

The RCP's political policy on minority relations, its stands on principle, the aims it promotes and the practical measures it initiates and accomplishes in this field are guided by a uniform, scientific conception of the nation and the minorities problem. We owe this conception to the party general secretary, upon whose initiative and telling contribution the party made a comprehensive, in-depth analysis of the facts of our period in order to determine and define the categories of the nation, minority relations, and the present and future roles

of the nation. This analysis is particularly important because voices are still heard to the effect that the nation has "finished" its historical mission and become an "anachronistic" social category. Contrary to that assertion, which is entirely refuted by experience and the evolution of the contemporary world, the party's conclusions drawn from historical experience, the present facts, and the objective demands of social development point to the very fact that mankind will remain a people of nations and national states for a long time to come, and they bring out the historical role of the nation as an important motive force for the people's all-around progress. The mere fact that over 70 new sovereign states have appeared on the world map since 1960 and that they now number over 160 in all and are on the increase fully confirms Nicolae Ceausescu's point that "There is every reason to expect that the nation will continue to exist as an important factor for international collaboration and peace in communist society, as it acquires new characteristics and qualities."

Another major conclusion brought out in the same process of scientific investigation of the contemporary social facts concerns the category of nationality. In full accord with the objective trends and processes of social development, the RCP pointed out that like the category of the nation, nationalities will also continue to exist for a long time in both socialist and communist construction. This conclusion, included in the RCP Program, is vitally important to the national existence and future of the ethnic communities. While securing the further development and prosperity of the Romanian socialist nation as the optimal structure for full advancement of the Romanian people's national existence, the RCP has been creating all conditions for the free and unrestricted development of the national minorities and making every effort so that they will benefit by all the advances of socialism on a equal footing with the Romanian people.

As the party general secretary pointed out, "The problem of the minorities and the policy toward them can be correctly understood and resolved only in the context of Romania's general policy of revolutionary struggle and united effort toward socialist and communist construction." On that principle and in view of the historical fact that Romanian citizens of Hungarian, German, Serbian and other nationalities coexist with the Romanian people on the territory of Romania as a unified national state, the RCP included provisions in its program to the effect that the effort to guarantee all national minorities equal rights and to "solve their particular problems and cement the unity and brotherhood of the workers regardless of nationality remains important in the period of construction of the fully developed socialist society and the gradual shift to communism."

The Marxist-Leninist solution of the minorities problem in the years of revolution and socialist construction is one of the great victories of RCP policy. Based on creative application of the socialist principle of full equality of rights for all workers to the specific-historical conditions in Romania, that policy led to abolition of any forms of inequality, discrimination and national oppression and to consolidation of the unity and friendship of all workers regardless of nationality.

The solution of the minorities problem and the institution of fully equal rights for all of Romania's sons are results of the great revolutionary reforms in the years of revolution and socialist construction. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "Socialism alone can really make any true equality of rights among all



workers regardless of nationality possible, because it has done away with exploitation of man by man, placed the production means in the hands of the people, and enabled the workers as owners of the material goods and the social product to fully enjoy all the benefits of socialism equally. We see the minorities problem in that light, and we proceeded to solve it from those considerations."

The established facts in socialist Romania prove that the new order provides, first of all, the right to work and equal pay for equal work in conformity with the principles of socialist justice; the right to free education, with the opportunity to learn in the minorities' mother tongues; the right to rest and to material support in old age and illness; the right to elect and to be elected, and other rights and freedoms guaranteed by the National Constitution, as well as the material necessities for cultural-artistic and scientific activities in the minority languages. Along with the extensive development of workers revolutionary democracy and the formation of a new and democratic structure for the masses' participation in management of all activities, all workers regardless of nationality are enabled to participate actively and equally in the organization and management of all socioeconomic activity.

The nature of the minorities has changed in the course of socialist construction. It is not solely a matter of a new legal status conferring the same rights and obligations on the entire people, but also one of a radical change based on class solidarity among all workers freed of exploitation and on the friendship between the Romanian nation and the national minorities, who make up the great family of the working people as sovereign masters of their fate and holders of power in the common fatherland of socialist Romania.

#### An Integral Part of the Revolutionary Process

In the light of the specific-historical conditions and particular facts of Romanian society and the principles of the revolutionary theory, the party of the working class has consistently militated for equal rights for all workers regardless of nationality ever since it appeared upon the Romanian political scene. But it was not possible to fully accomplish this aim before the victory of the Antifascist and Anti-Imperialist Revolution for Social and National Emancipation of August 1944, when the working class in alliance with the peasantry and the other social categories acquired political power and the revolutionary reform of Romanian society began.

It was in the years of socialist construction, and especially in the period following the Ninth Party Congress, that the political, social and economic preparations were made for the assertion and full guarantee of the democratic rights and freedoms and for the real accomplishment of the equality of all workers regardless of nationality. In those years the unity and friendship between the Romanian nation and the minorities acquired a new political basis in the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry, a new economic basis in socialist production relations based on public, socialist ownership of the production means, and a new ideological basis in the dialectical and historical materialist conception of the world and life. The elimination of the exploiting classes and the country's economic, social and cultural lags and the final victory of the new order made it possible to solve the minorities problem in Romania, thereby securing constitutional and material equality of rights de jure and de facto and

equal opportunities for all Romanian citizens to advance and develop regardless of their nationality. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "The problems of all workers regardless of nationality are being solved with the general progress of society and the solution of its developmental problems. We can take pride in the way we have solved the minorities problem and enabled the workers of different nationalities and the entire people to participate in the development of socialist society."

It should be pointed out in connection with the new political and institutional structure guaranteeing all Romanian citizens true equality of rights that in summarizing the Romanian people's progress in socialist construction and especially in solving the minorities problem, the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania provides: "Romanian citizens regardless of nationality, race, sex or religion have equal rights in all economic, political, legal, social and cultural activities. The state guarantees the citizens' equal rights. Neither any restriction of those rights nor any distinction in their exercise on grounds of nationality, race, sex or religion is permitted. Any attempt to impose such restrictions, nationalist-chauvinist propaganda, and incitement to race or national hatred are penalized by law." Moreover the charter of Romania's great socialist rights and freedoms specifies that in Romania the minorities "are guaranteed free use of their mother tongues as well as books, newspapers, magazines, theaters and education on all levels in their own languages. In the regional administrative units also inhabited by nationalities other than Romanian, all organs and institutions use the languages of the respective nationalities orally and in writing and appoint officials from their ranks or from those of other citizens who know the language and way of life of the local population."

These truly democratic provisions and their consistent application reflect the consistently revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist solution of the minorities problem in Romania and the equal advancement of all Romanian citizens.

#### Extensive Material Guarantees

In the RCP's view the essential requirement for final solution of the minorities problem is provision in practice for full equality on the material level, thereby guaranteeing actual exercise of the social-political rights and freedoms by all citizens. As the party general secretary pointed out, "It is not enough just to proclaim the principles of full equality of rights. To be sure recognition and assertion of those principles are important, but they remain on paper unless the material conditions for their implementation are provided."

The RCP policy of developing all counties and localities of the country and accordingly creating equal living and working conditions for all citizens is critically important in this respect. The consistent pursuit of this policy in the last 20 years has set the formerly backward areas on the course of intensive economic development, including some counties where Romanian citizens of the minorities live together with the Romanians. Large sums have been invested in those counties, the volume of which has exceeded the national increase in the years since the Ninth Party Congress especially. While this increase was by about 5 times on the national level, it was by 14 times in Covasna County and by 22 times in Salaj County. As a result, the industrial outputs of those counties increased rapidly, by 15 times in Salaj County and by more than 7 times and more than

5 times in Covasna and Harghita counties respectively. And so Covasna County, with only 1 percent of the national population and an economy that was backward 20 years ago, is now in fifth place on the list of counties in per capita net output, in fourth place in net output per 1,000 lei of fixed assets, and in fifth place in industrial labor productivity. And in regions of Harghita County the industrialization policy fundamentally changed both the face of the area, where Romanians and Hungarians have been coexisting for centuries, and their way of life. In the last few years especially, through the party general secretary's efforts first-class units of the machine building and metallurgical industries have sprung up alongside the textile, wood-processing and mining industries, such as the Miercurea Ciuc Tractor Enterprise, the Odorheiu Secuiesc Enterprise for Dies and Cast Iron Parts, the Gheorgheni Enterprise for Equipment and Spare Parts and the Gheorgheni Machine Enterprise, the Cristuru Secuiesc Enterprise for Special Forged Steels, and the modernized sections of the Vlahita Iron Enterprise, also indicating the penetration of the peak industries in these areas. Due to all this Harghita County's industrial output is 50 times greater today than it was in 1950 with an average growth rate above the national one. Industrialization created tens of thousands of new jobs, and the Harghita labor force has grown from 19,000 in 1950 to more than 100,000 today. Of course this growth has been accompanied by major qualitative changes, to the betterment of the quality of life of all the inhabitants.

It is plain to be seen that the whole undertaking of building the fully developed socialist society and the complete solution of the minorities problem in the course of it are reflected in the fact that all Romanian citizens benefit equally from all the results obtained. All that there is in Romania, all the soil and subsoil resources as well as all we have been building in the years of socialism, plants, factories, schools and research laboratories, belong in equal measure to all Romania's sons, who are all alike producers and owners of the production means and owners and beneficiaries of the entire social wealth. The citizens of socialist Romania, whatever their occupations or functions, are judged not by their nationality but solely by their ability and contribution to the effort to develop the common fatherland, and by their dedication to the historically important task of socialist and communist construction on Romanian soil.

#### United in Thought and Action

Socialist construction in Romania is the result of the entire people's efforts in common, and they are implementing the RCP's patriotic policy with great enthusiasm. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, all the great progress we have made in building the fully developed socialist society we owe to the efforts of all the workers regardless of nationality and to the entire people, who are tirelessly implementing the party and state domestic and foreign policies in full unity.

Socialism has created a real community of all Romanian citizens' interests and given them equal opportunities for economic, social and political advancement. The results of the RCP's Marxist-Leninist minorities policy are to be seen today in the higher stage reached by the process of consolidating the political and social cohesion of all the workers regardless of nationality.

Romania's experience strikingly bears out the conclusion that successful construction of the fully developed socialist society and the advance toward

communism are impossible without the inseparable unity of all the workers and their common effort to carry out the vital aims of party policy. Unity is the most precious asset and the guarantee of success in the effort to build communism, the most just and humane society, on Romanian soil. It is also the guarantee of socialist Romania's freedom and independence. Hence also the requirement, repeatedly formulated by the party general secretary, to take resolute action to further develop all workers' socialist awareness, to indoctrinate them in the spirit of unity and brotherhood of all Romanian citizens, of socialist patriotism and humanism, and of the revolutionary ideology of the working class, and to combat and expose any instances of nationalism or chauvinism.

The minorities are making their active contribution today alongside the Romanians in all fields, politics, society, industry, agriculture, scientific research and art. This is the most real and graphic reflection of the equality of rights and obligations instituted in Romanian society in the last 20 years especially, and of the complete unity of aims and aspirations of all the workers, who have become a powerful motive force for contemporary Romanian society's development.

On the basis of the conditions created by the socialist regime, the minorities' effective participation in building the new order is definitely indicated by their active presence in material production, in formulating and implementing the decisions and options concerning both local and macrosocial economic and social-cultural activity, in making and implementing all domestic and foreign policy, and in management of all social activities.

Direct participation in politics is indicated primarily by an equitable number of minority representatives in all central and local party and state organs and in those of the public organizations, from the bureaus of the RCP's primary organizations, trade unions or people's councils to the RCP Central Committee, the FDUS /Socialist Democracy and Unity Front/ National Council, the Grand National Assembly, the State Council, the National Workers Council and the government. The 369 deputies to the present legislature of the Grand National Assembly include 27 Hungarians and five Germans, and of the 62,232 deputies elected to the county, municipal, city and communal people's councils, 7.01 percent are Hungarian and 1.23 percent are German. The minorities have their representatives in the managements of the ministries and other central and local state organs and in those of the enterprises and institutions. In localities where the minorities are in the majority, the functions of mayor or those of directors of enterprises, institutions, schools etc. are entrusted to citizens from the ranks of the respective minorities.

The massive involvement of the minorities in social-political activity, their cooperation in the most complete unity with the Romanian people, and their increasingly effective integration in the common effort to build the fully developed socialist society are not to the liking of some reactionary circles abroad, who try to interpret them, libelously, as a form of "disintegration" of the minorities' own nature or as a phenomenon of "assimilation." The truth is that thanks to the climate of real and effective democracy established in socialist Romania the minorities here not only feel closer and more united than ever with the Romanian nation but also can maintain their ethnic existence and national identity and develop them without restriction.

In the years since the Ninth Party Congress especially, a new and most important chapter has been added to the long history of Romanian schools, at the suggestion and with the telling contribution of Nicolae Ceausescu. By virtue of its organization, scope and content, preschool education has become the first stage of the educational system, compulsory 10-year education has been generalized and is attended today by all Romanian children of whatever nationality, and high-school and higher education, especially technical and agricultural, have been intensively developed. Now the school population exceeds 5.5 million children and youths, and every fourth Romanian citizen is included in some form of education. There are 29,300 scholastic units today, and over 3,200 of them are teaching in minority languages. For preuniversity education, 1,369 textbook titles are in print, 555 of which are in minority languages. Every citizen is guaranteed the right as well as the opportunity to learn Romanian, a sine qua non for his all-around progress in Romanian society, as well as the mother tongues for the minorities.

Use of the written word in the mother tongue is also essential to the all-around progress of a national minority. About 400 book titles and 52 dailies and periodicals are published annually in the minority languages, in a total printing of more than 100 million copies. Nine of Romania's 45 theaters put on plays in the minority languages (six in Hungarian, two in German, and one in Yiddish). One of the five opera houses operates in Hungarian, and three of the 24 puppet theaters put on shows in Hungarian and one in German.

The National Cîntarea României Festival is an optimal medium for the masses of workers to participate in development of Romania's socialist cultural values and a striking way of promoting the people's talents and creative power. It convincingly demonstrates the structural democratism of the new Romanian culture and that of Romanian socialist society in general. We are pleased to note that the last edition of the festival put 191,543 artistic units and circles on the great national stage, comprising about 4.5 million workers and including 11,536 artistic units and circles comprising 225,556 Hungarian, German, Serbian and other minority amateur artists. Extensive application and cultivation of each national minority's characteristic progressive traditions supplement cultural activity in its mother tongue and the methods of all-around development of the personality.

#### A Specific Manifestation of Romania's Extended Socialist Democracy

The RCP's effort to keep improving social organization and management as a whole, especially since the Ninth Party Congress, is also reflected in the measures taken to improve the organizational-institutional structure that is expected to make better use of the minorities' creative resources. The Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 24-25 October 1968, which decided to found the National Minorities Councils as their own consultative and representative bodies, was particularly important for this purpose.

The Councils of Workers of various nationalities are original creations of the RCP and its general secretary himself (Those of Hungarian and German workers operate under the Party Central Committee, while 15 Hungarian Workers Councils, 10 German ones and two Serbian and Ukrainian ones each operate in counties), and they perform a rich and varied activity within the FDUS and jointly with the other mass and public organizations in order to promote party policy and to indoctrinate workers of various nationalities in the spirit of brotherhood and friendship with the Romanian people and in that of socialist ideology. These councils

give reliable support to the party and state organs in examining and solving the particular problems of the respective populations in keeping with the general interests of society and with those of the citizens of these nationalities. Meanwhile, as Nicolae Ceausescu concluded, "The work of the Hungarian and German workers councils conforms to the extensive development of workers revolutionary democracy and provides in this way too, within the Romanian democratic system, for discussion of the problems in connection with Romania's further progress on the path of socialism, communism and the welfare and happiness of the whole Romanian nation."

All this fully justifies the conclusions that the minorities in Romania have never known such opportunities as they now have for the full and unrestricted development of their natures, and that the development and improvement of workers revolutionary democracy provides in Romanian socialist society for the entire people's real participation in building their own destiny and their happy future.

Accordingly the Report to the 13th Party Congress expresses nothing but a historical truth when it states that Romania has solved the minorities problem forever on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist conception and the principles of scientific socialism by providing for fully equal rights for all Romanian citizens. As the general secretary pointed out, "Regardless of our nationality and the language we speak, we are the sons of just one fatherland, and we are all citizens of Romania." This generalization reflects an achievement and an experience of international significance. Romania's solution of its minorities problem is an example of scientific and principled solution of a vital social and political problem. The Romanian people categorically reject any outside interference and any attempt to distort the truth of this matter. Although it has a unique social experience, socialist Romania has not given nor is it giving anyone lessons on solving the minorities problem, since it respects the principle that every state's sovereignty is inviolate. As the party general secretary said, we would sincerely wish every country to solve its minorities problem at least as well as it was solved in Romania and every citizen to enjoy the rights the minorities in socialist Romania do.

The creative enthusiasm with which all the workers regardless of nationality are breathing life into the RCP Program and the decisions of the 13th Party Congress by expressing their thoughts in feats of work proves that socialist Romania is gaining by the will and dedication of all its sons, reflecting their common hopes and identical aspirations and the entire people's unshakable unity around the party and its general secretary Nicolae Ceausescu.

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YUGOSLAVIA

BORBA, POLITIKA ON NUCLEAR TESTS MORATORIUM

AU021653 [Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 31 July on page 6 and Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian on 31 July on page 5 report on Gorbachev's proposal of a moratorium on nuclear tests.

BORBA's Moscow correspondent D. Vukcevic in a 150-word factual report says that Gorbachev for the second time since his election "threw down the gauntlet" to President Reagan. "At the beginning of April he proclaimed a unilateral moratorium on the deployment of Soviet medium-range missiles, and last night he stated that the USSR will suspend all kinds of nuclear explosions from 6 August until the end of the year."

In an adjoining 700-word report, BORBA's New York correspondent G. Logar says that "on the same day, this Monday [29 July] Washington and Moscow practically exchanged different proposals on the same subject--arms control--probably in the belief that they would not be accepted, because they had been rejected in the past." Logar outlines Gorbachev's announcement of a nuclear test moratorium, and President Reagan's invitation to Soviet experts to watch U.S. underground nuclear tests.

"It is believed here that trust between the two rivals has fallen to its lowest point, and that this kind of verification of who is doing what would be useful," Logar says. She reports that "Gorbachev's proposal is seen as a propaganda act, but it is not thought that it will remain without effect in Europe, where it is believed that the Soviet leader wants to improve relations, just as he is doing with China and Japan."

POLITIKA's Washington correspondent D. Simic in a 400-word report says: "On the same day, Washington yesterday rejected the Soviet offer of a moratorium on underground nuclear tests, and Moscow--if one is to judge by a TASS report--rejected the renewed U.S. proposal that Soviet experts attend one of the coming nuclear experiments in Nevada." Simic reports "the general belief that the White House yesterday renewed its proposal on observers chiefly to counter the Soviet offer of a moratorium. He says that one often encounters the belief that the rejections are "a part of the wider maneuvering before the fall summit of the leaders of the two superpowers."

In a 100-word report attributed to REUTER, which is printed in a box within Simic's article, POLITIKA says that the Soviet moratorium decision was presented to the Geneva disarmament conference.

YUGOSLAVIA

SFRY REPORTS HEAVY POLLUTION IN SOUTHERN MORAVA RIVER

LD021809 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0848 GMT 2 Aug 85

[Text] Nis, 2 Aug (TANJUG)--Tons of dead fish have for the past few days been floating in the southern Morava, downstream from Leskovac and Nis. Fishing organizations hold the view that it is a question of a real mass extermination of the fish world and that the river polluters have caused inestimable damage. Large fish, longer than a meter, "line" the Morava shores and this grim picture of what was once a beautiful river presents the greatest indictment of the still anonymous pollutants and their irresponsibility. Officials in charge of the safety of fish, who for years have been friends of the rivers, claim that they have not seen such a picture of a "dead river" for decades.

Tons of large fish, which withstood neither the low water level nor the uncontrolled discharge of uncontrolled matter are floating. Peasants from nearby villages have taken away tractor-trailers full of poisoned fish. The Nisava Fishermens' Association has officially warned local people and particularly private caterers that this fish should under no circumstances be used for human consumption.

The competent organs have taken samples of polluted waters of the Morava and Nisava and poisoned fish and are now expecting detailed analyses. But even without these analyses it is clear that urgent measures should be taken to protect rivers.

Rivers are becoming canals down which flow heavy metals and other harmful matter. And while the Nis mechanical industry heavily advertises its wide ranging program of the production of equipment for the protection of living and working environment, assets earmarked for the protection of the living and working environment remain unused in the self-managing interest communities of the water economy.

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YUGOSLAVIA

ZAGREB PAPER VIEWS ITALIAN 'PROTECTION' OF SLOVENES

LDO41036 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0950 GMT 4 Aug 85

["Who Fears Global Protection of Slovenes in Italy"--TANJUG headline]

[Text] Zagreb, 4 Aug (TANJUG)--Under the headline, the Zagreb daily VJESNIK publishes a commentary posing the question of why the adoption of the law on the global protection of the interests of the Slovene national minority in Italy has been delayed in Rome for more than a decade. The Italian state committed itself to passing such a law by signing the 1975 Ossimo Agreements with Yugoslavia. The government in Rome had committed itself to adopting such a law within 18 months from the time of the conclusion of the Osimo Agreements, but there is still no such law nor are there any indications when it could be adopted.

This question of bilateral relations of Yugoslavia and Italy was discussed during Italian Prime Minister Bettino Craxi's visit to Belgrade at the beginning of February this year. On that occasion, Craxi promised to speed up the procedure regarding the adoption of this essential legislation. The Italian prime minister, VJESNIK writes, kept his word. Soon after returning to Rome, he summoned Minister for Regional Affairs Carlo Vizzini and discussed with him the problem of the protection of the Slovene national community in Friuli-Venezia Giulia. This conference of Prime Minister Craxi and Minister Vizzini took place five months ago and so far there has been no word about its results.

VJESNIK notes in the commentary that Yugoslavia has every right to urge the legalisation of the global protection of the Slovene community within the frontiers of the Italian Republic. Resistance to this is offered by local nationalistic and irredentistic circles, particularly the president of the municipality of Trieste, Richetti, who stated at a recent meeting of the Trieste Municipal Council that the "Slovenes in Italy are not entitled to anything which they do not have already". The Zagreb newspaper, however, stresses that the representatives of the biggest Italian parties, including the ruling coalition, have quite a different opinion about the issue and therefore expresses the hope that the procedure regarding the adoption of the law on the global protection of Slovenes in Italy will be accelerated and that the efforts of the democratic forces in this direction will bear fruit.

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YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

ZARKOVIC ASSUMES LCY PRESIDENCY--AU061937--[Editorial Report] Belgrade television service in Serbo-Croatian at 1730 GMT on 25 June carries a 30-second video report on the session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium on that day at which Vidoje Zarkovic was elected president of the Presidium for a 1-year term. The reports show Vidoje Zarkovic walking to the president's seat under the window at the round table in the Belgrade Hall. Outgoing president Ali Sukrija and secretary Dimce Belovski stand there. Zarkovic shakes hands with Sukrija, puts a briefcase and a bundle of papers on the table, and sits down. Sukrija picks up his bundle of papers from the table and walks away. Belovski sits down in his usual place next to the president.

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